THE UMBRIAN CITIES OF ITALY

VOL. I

J·W & A·M·CRUICKSHANK

·EX LIBRIS·
HUBBEL·LATHROP

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2014

https://archive.org/details/umbriancitiesofi01crui

THE
UMBRIAN CITIES OF ITALY

Volume I

Travel Lovers' Library

Each in two volumes, profusely illustrated

Florence $3.00
By Grant Allen

Romance and Teutonic Switzerland 3.00
By W. D. McCrackan

The Same. — Unillustrated . 1.50

Old World Memories . . 3.00
By Edward Lowe Temple

Paris 3.00
By Grant Allen

Feudal and Modern Japan . . 3.00
By Arthur May Knapp

The Same. — Unillustrated . 1.50

The Unchanging East . . 3.00
By Robert Barr

Venice 3.00
By Grant Allen

Gardens of the Caribbees . . 3.00
By Ida M. H. Starr

Belgium: Its Cities . . . 3.00
By Grant Allen

Rome 3.00
By Walter Taylor Field

Romantic Ireland . . . 3.00
By M. F. and B. McM. Mansfield

China and Her People . . 3.00
By Hon. Charles Denby, LL. D.

Cities of Northern Italy . . 3.00
By Grant Allen and George C. Williamson

The Umbrian Cities of Italy . 3.00
By J. W. and A. M. Cruickshank

L. C. PAGE & COMPANY
(incorporated)
New England Building, Boston, Mass.

A. Carracci

St. Francis of Assisi

The UMBRIAN CITIES OF ITALY

By

J. W. and A. M. Cruickshank

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

ASSISI AND ORVIETO

ILLUSTRATED

Boston
L. C. Page & Company
MDCCCCVII

Copyright, 1907
By L. C. Page & Company
(incorporated)

All rights reserved

First Impression, July, 1907

COLONIAL PRESS
Electrotyped and Printed by C. H. Simonds & Co.
Boston, U. S. A.

Preface

THE compilers of the following pages deeply regret that Mr. Grant Allen, who planned this series of travel books, should not have lived to develop his ideas under his own hand. They had the privilege of seeing him at work upon his books on Venice, and had some opportunity of recognizing the brilliant powers of observation, and the masterly skill in clear and simple exposition which he brought to bear upon the subject. Although they have been able only very imperfectly to appreciate and follow his example, they think it may be for the convenience of readers to summarize the aims originally in view.

The book is not intended to take the place of guide-books such as those of Baedeker or Murray. It does not give information about the details of travel, nor does it notice

all monuments irrespective of their merit or interest. In dealing with collections, the object has not been to furnish a catalogue, but to indicate the matters of essential interest, and, so far as is possible, to suggest the reason for this interest. An attempt has been made to give just enough historical tradition to enable the traveller to create for himself an atmosphere suitable to the objects which he is engaged in studying, and sufficiently detailed to suggest the place which they take in the general development of human interests.

Two points of view present themselves in regard to all that we see — the manner of the doing of the thing, and the object with which it has been done. The one is the point of view of the artist; the other that of the student of human nature. An endeavour has been made to appreciate the monuments from both points of view.

It has been thought to be most courteous to those who use this book to express opinions quite frankly; but no authority is claimed, and particularly where the sphere of the experts may have been trespassed on, nothing

more is intended than a suggestion for the traveller, to be used as a starting-point for his own observations.

The compilers are conscious that errors and misconceptions may be found, and they will value the corrections which fellow-students and travellers may be able to send them, in the care of the publisher. They desire also to express their acknowledgment of the assistance they have received from Miss Katharine Wilson, who accompanied them upon the journey. In the work of observation as well as of revision, they are greatly indebted to her helpful insight.

A Brief History of Umbria

THE Umbrians have been generally regarded as among the most ancient of the races in Italy, and at one time their territory was widely extended.

Successive waves of conquest gradually forced the Umbrians from the valley of the Po and from the coasts of the Adriatic, so that for several centuries before our era they were confined to the mountain ranges and to the valleys of the Apennines in Central Italy.

The first conquerors that we know of as limiting the Umbrian boundaries were of Etruscan race. This people settled throughout a large part of Central Italy, from Lombardy in the north to Campania in the south. Such ancient centres of life as Orvieto and Perugia are full of evidence of Etruscan life,

and their remains are widely spread throughout Umbria.

The close connection between the two peoples is of importance in the history of Central Italy, for the Etruscans were the most advanced, and the most highly civilized of all the contending races in the country.

The next limitation of Umbria was the result of the Celtic invasion of Italy in the fourth century B. C. The Celts advanced along the Adriatic coast from the north, while tribes of Italian origin coming from the south established themselves on the same coast, and thus the Umbrians were confined to the inland and mountainous parts of the country. They ceased to be a powerful people, and offered but a feeble defence against invasion.

In 396 B. C., the capture of the Etruscan city of Veii, some eleven miles from Rome, opened the way for the advance of the Republic into Central Italy, and within the next hundred years the power of Rome was established throughout Umbria. In 309 B. C., the Etruscans and their allies were defeated at the Vadimonian Lake, near the modern

town of Orte; and in 296 B. C., a still more crushing defeat was inflicted on the Etruscans, Celts, Samnites, and Umbrians at Sentinum, near the modern Sassoferrato.

One of the most important results of the Roman conquest was the making of the Flaminian Way in the year 220 B. C. This road stretched from Rome to Rimini, passing Narni, Nocera, Cagli, the Furlo Pass, Fossombrone, and Fano; there was also a branch leading to Ancona. By this means the upland valleys of the Apennines were connected on the one hand with the capital, and on the other with the seaports of the Adriatic. The busy traffic of this great highway led to the development of many towns on its route, and to the prosperity of places such as Spoleto, Trevi, Foligno, and Spello.

The Roman province of Umbria included Central Italy east of the Tiber, with a coast line on the Adriatic extending roughly from Rimini to Ancona; to the north it included the upper valley of the Arno known as the Casentino, and to the south the river Nar divided it from the Sabine country.

During the time of the Social War, B. C. 90, Umbria and Etruria did not join in the rising of the Italian allies against Rome, and the people of both nations received the Roman franchise.

In the long warfare between the imperial power of Rome and the barbarians during the fifth and sixth centuries of our era, the province of Umbria shared the fate of the rest of Italy. The siege of Perugia, in which the town was attacked by the Gothic King Totila and defended by the Bishop S. Ercolano, and the great defeat of King Totila by Narses, the general of the Emperor Justinian, near Gualdo, are incidents which connect Umbria with the history of this great struggle. It was not until the Lombard conquest of Italy in 568 A. D. that the province had any individual importance. Under the new conquerors the country was divided into a number of dukedoms; one of the principal of these had its capital at Spoleto and included a large part of Umbria.

The Lombards were nearly always at feud with the Pope. They were far more barbarous enemies than the Goths, and as their

power grew the position of the Roman see became intolerable. In the middle of the eighth century the power of the Frankish rulers of German and Gaulish lands had become vested in the Arnulfings or Karlings, a family of great personal distinction and capacity. It was from Pippin, king of the Franks, that Pope Stephen begged for help against the Lombards. The king crossed the Alps and defeated the enemies of the Pope in 755, and it is said that the Frankish conqueror granted or confirmed to the Pope possession of large territory, mainly in Central Italy. When Pippin's son Charles completed the conquest of the Lombards in 774, the donation previously made is supposed to have been confirmed, and thus the Pope became possessor of a title which was never relinquished, although many generations passed away before it was effectually enforced.

The Frankish conquest of Northern and Central Italy involved a strengthening of barbarian influence. Margraves and counts formed the chiefs of a landed aristocracy founded on feudal ideals at variance with

those of the municipal society of Greece and Rome.

In the year 800 the Pope crowned Charles as emperor, and thus we find throughout mediæval Italian history a Teutonic emperor and a feudal aristocracy — set against a Pope and the dwellers in towns representing, for the most part, the traditions of Roman civilization.

From time to time these Teutonic emperors crossed the Alps and exercised a disturbing influence on Italian politics; nevertheless, the most permanent and persistent forces at work in moulding the life of Central Italy, consisted (1) in the influence of the Church, which claimed in many parts of the country paramount power; (2) in the power of the nobles, tending towards the tyranny of some great family; (3) in the power of the citizens organized under trade guilds.

The history of the Italian communes is really the story of the struggle between the Latin and Teutonic ideal. To a large extent this took the form of war between the nobles and the citizens, and it constituted the serious

element lying behind the faction fights of Guelphs and Ghibellines.

The power of the Pope grew very slowly, and it was only after the return from Avignon and the closing of the schism by the election of Martin V. in 1417 that the political influence of the Church became a constant and increasing element in Italian politics. The wars waged by Julius II. early in the sixteenth century, and the building of the great fortress in Perugia by Paul III. in 1540, mark the realization of the dreams of Pope Stephen when, eight hundred years before, he called the king of the Franks across the Alps.

By the side of the Italian communes and far from the court of Rome, there was growing up a third power of which little is heard in the din of mediæval conflict. This was the duchy of Savoy. In the middle of the eleventh century the power of this house was founded by the marriage of a Count of Maurienne who owned the western side of the Mont Cenis Pass, with a daughter of the Count of Turin who held the Castle of Susa on the Italian side. One family thus came

into possession of the highway over the mountains. From this beginning the house of Savoy grew in power and influence. In 1720 the chief of the house took the title of King of Sardinia. In March, 1860, there was added to this kingdom a large part of Central Italy. In 1861 the King of Sardinia was proclaimed King of Italy, and in 1870 Rome was made the capital of a united nation under the rule of the house which had been founded eight hundred years before.

Contents

PART I — ASSISI

CHAPTER		PAGE
	PREFACE	v
	A BRIEF HISTORY OF UMBRIA . .	ix
I.	ST. FRANCIS — THE DUOMO . . .	3
II.	MONUMENTS CONNECTED WITH THE LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS	21
III.	THE CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO . .	49
IV.	THE CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO — THE UPPER CHURCH	75
V.	THE LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS — CONFORMITY TO THAT OF CHRIST . . .	100
VI.	S. FRANCESCO — THE LOWER CHURCH — LIFE OF CHRIST — THE FOUR ALLEGORICAL FRESCOES	123
VII.	THE CHAPELS OF S. FRANCESCO . .	161
VIII.	OTHER CHURCHES	187

PART II — ORVIETO

I.	HISTORY OF THE TOWN	203
II.	ETRUSCAN ORVIETO — THE NECROPOLIS	213

CHAPTER		PAGE
III.	The Museums	230
IV.	The Duomo	256
V.	The Cappella della Madonna di S. Brizio	311
VI.	The Cappella del Corporale . .	342
VII.	Other Churches	354
	Index	361

List of Illustrations

Volume I

PAGE

A. Carracci — St. Francis of Assisi *Frontispiece*
Temple of Minerva 4
Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli . 7
A Fountain in Assisi 18
Interior of Santa Maria degli Angeli . 31
An Old Bridge over the Tiber 36
The Road to Perugia 46
Church of S. Francesco 52
A Quiet Street 62
Paolo Uccello — Portrait of Giotto . . 70
A Modern Street 80
School of Giotto — Madonna and Child . 83
Midday in Assisi 96
Entrance to Lower Church of S. Francesco 100
Giotto — St. Francis Preaching to the Birds 114
Giotto — Salutation 124
Taddeo Gaddi — Christ among the Doctors 127
Cimabue — Madonna 134
Giotto — St. Francis Restoring a Boy to Life 136
Lorenzetti(?) — Madonna and Child . . 142
Giotto — Allegory of Poverty . . . 145

PAGE

GIOTTO — ALLEGORY OF CHASTITY . . . 148
GIOTTO — ALLEGORY OF OBEDIENCE . . 151
GIOTTO — GLORIFICATION OF ST. FRANCIS . 155
MARTINI — ST. MARTIN BEFORE THE EMPEROR 164
CHURCH OF STA. CHIARA 187
A COURTYARD IN ASSISI 196
THE BISHOP'S PALACE 207
PALAZZO DEL CAPITANO 208
A VIEW OF ORVIETO 220
ETRUSCAN STATUARY 232
AN ETRUSCAN VASE 238
A GROUP OF ETRUSCAN BRONZES . . . 246
THE DUOMO, ORVIETO 256
FAÇADE OF THE DUOMO 260
DETAIL OF THE FIRST PIER 270
SIGNORELLI AND FRA ANGELICO . . . 312
FRA ANGELICO — CHRIST IN JUDGMENT . . 313
SIGNORELLI — THE DOCTORS OF THE CHURCH 335
SIGNORELLI — THE FATE OF THE WICKED . 336
SIGNORELLI — THE LOT OF THE BLESSED . 338

PART I

Assisi

The Umbrian Cities of Italy

Volume I

PART I — ASSISI

CHAPTER I

ST. FRANCIS — THE DUOMO

THE town of Assisi stands on the slopes of Monte Subasio. Below it runs the mountain torrent of the Tescio, which after joining two other little streams flows into the Tiber. The broad valley drained by this river stretches in each direction as far as we can see. Upon the mountain slopes which run steeply down into the plain is a succession of towns; to the west, Perugia, to the southeast, Spello, Trevi, and Spoleto, all of them ancient centres of human life and human interests.

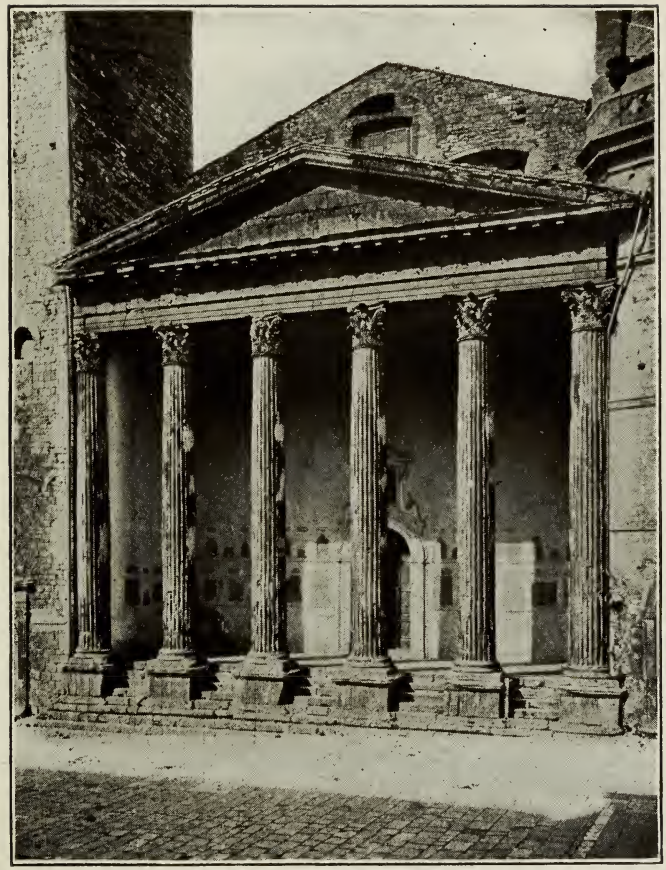
Assisi stands on the site of the Roman town of Assisium, and there are still remains

of imperial times to be found. The Forum, the Amphitheatre, and the portico of the Temple of Minerva carry us back nearly two thousand years.

The empire was succeeded by the Lombard kingdom, and during this period Assisi formed part of the duchy of Spoleto. The cathedral in Assisi forms an interesting record of the effect of the barbarian conquests of Italy. The façade is an example of the style of architecture used from the seventh century to the twelfth. It represents the period when the northern races were struggling, with only partial success, to absorb the traditions of classical art.

The more complete fusion of the various social forces in the country finds its expression in the Gothic church of San Francesco, the tomb of St. Francis.

In the possession of this long story of continuous life, and of these buildings which testify to it, Assisi does not differ from many other Italian towns, nor is there anything distinctive in its commercial, political, or intellectual condition. There is no absorbing interest such as we find in the political system



TEMPLE OF MINERVA

of the Venetian nobles, or of the princes of the house of Visconti; there is no record of a keen spirit of philosophical inquiry such as existed at Padua and Florence; nor is there any important local school of painters or sculptors.

What we do find is the fulfilment of the spiritual revival of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the life of St. Francis. It was here that he was born in 1182; at S. Damiano he received the call to the higher life; in the market-place he renounced not only the pomps and vanities of the world, but even the closest of family ties; in the Umbrian valleys he preached the gospel of love and of self-denial. On the side of Monte Subasio, high above the town, is the place whither he went to gain spiritual strength from austerities of more than usual severity. In the little cell under the dome of Sta. Maria degli Angeli he died, and in the crypt of San Francesco he was buried.

The new activity which had begun to work in the minds of men in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries found its artistic expression in Giotto and among his disciples —

just as its spiritual development is to be seen in St. Francis and among his disciples.

This close relationship between the spiritual life of the mendicants and the artistic life of the Giotteschi has produced in the church of San Francesco a monument, wonderful alike for its interpretation of the source of the power which St. Francis had over mankind, and for the beauty of its expression.

In an age of constant warfare and strife, and in times when the unscrupulous and the strong seemed to command the world, the life of St. Francis comes as an entirely new experience. He was a man with no advantage of birth, he had no intellectual training — he is not even said to have been eloquent, and yet he was able to quicken the conscience of the western world as none of the great ecclesiastics and doctors of the Middle Ages had been able to do.

We go to Assisi that we may the more fully understand and realize the influences of this man, whose life is witness to the power of a simple faith, and a love which knows no limitation.

CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA DEGLI ANGELI

We go to Assisi to study the rise and progress of Italian art, for we find in the single church of S. Francesco examples of the beginnings of native style, in which the native workman followed in the steps of Byzantine tradition. We find also how these beginnings develop into the two great Tuscan schools of Florence and Siena, and we can thus study all the important influences which lie at the foundation of Italian art.

It is quite possible to visit Assisi and to go round the churches of Sta. Maria degli Angeli and S. Francesco in a single day, and if no more time is available it is best spent in these places. For those who give plenty of time to Assisi and the neighbourhood, it is well to begin with the piazza which was once the forum of Roman times.

In it still stands the front of the ancient temple of Minerva, giving a remarkable sense of dignity and style to what would otherwise be no more than the market-place of an inconsiderable village. Underground in the same piazza there are fragments of the buildings of the Forum, and in the out-

skirts of the town there are remains of an amphitheatre.

The visitor should pass from these traces of Roman life to the example of Romanesque life which is found in the Duomo.

We next turn to those monuments which are connected with the religious revival of the thirteenth century and with the life of St. Francis.

There are many memorials of varying interest connected with him, and the traveller will do well to discriminate carefully.

St. Francis may be viewed as the simple-minded, sympathetic, self-denying soul, who drew all men to him by the sweetness and by the transparent sincerity of his character. He was the simple preacher trusting for his daily bread to the charity which the love of God inspired in the hearts of his hearers. He went forth owning nothing; he gloried in the meanness and hardness of his life; he died lying upon ashes. This is the life we can partly realize at the Porziuncola under the great dome of Sta. Maria degli Angeli and in the cells at Carceri.

But besides this St. Francis there is

another, the founder of a great order, recognized by the Church as one of its most powerful members. He is accepted by the great ones of the earth; he works miracles which gather to Rome the spiritual forces of mediævalism. Popes see visions concerning him, and they canonize his memory. To his brethren is revealed the throne in heaven on which he is to sit. The principles which guide his daily life are crystallized into the rule of a wide-spreading organization.

This is the St. Francis which we find at S. Francesco.

We could ill part with either of these records, for they set before us in a marvellous way the life of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Nevertheless we shall more truly comprehend them if we keep this twofold character in mind.

We see the simple disciple of poverty in his daily life at Sta. Maria degli Angeli and at Carceri. At S. Francesco we see how the mediæval papacy absorbed as much of the spirit of the mendicant as lay within its range of perception.

THE DUOMO

The cathedral of Assisi is dedicated in the name of S. Rufino, an Umbrian bishop martyred about the year 239. The bones of the martyr were carefully preserved by the faithful in an ancient pagan sarcophagus, and were not translated until the fifth century. They were then removed to the small church which stood upon the site of the present Duomo.

In 1028 Bishop Ugone made use of an outburst of religious fervour among the people to replace the old building by a new and much larger church.

Nothing of this construction can now be seen except the crypt, which has been lately excavated. It forms an interesting record of the architecture of the time. There are some traces of fresco paintings, and the columns have capitals of tenth and eleventh century workmanship.

During the excavations a wall was uncovered with a carved panel of very early date, probably of the eighth century. It represents a cross with two doves enclosed

in a triangle, having bunches of grapes and ivy leaves in the corners. The wall itself, it is supposed, forms part of the original church erected in the fifth century.

In the crypt there is also the fine sarcophagus in which the body of S. Rufino was preserved until the rebuilding of the church in the twelfth century. The relief upon the front represents Diana and Endymion.

Returning again to the piazza, we see in front of us the façade, which was begun in 1134 under the direction of Maestro Giovanni da Gubbio. The church had become the cathedral, and was dedicated in the names of S. Rufino and of Santa Maria. Nothing except the façade was completed at this time, and the rest of the church (partially restored during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) was finally transformed into a Renaissance building in 157, by Alessi, the Perugian architect. The massive Campanile was begun in the eleventh century, and was continued, but not entirely finished, in the next. Part of the upper construction is of modern date.

The façade is a good example of Romanesque building in the Lombard style.

The architectural features are not in themselves particularly striking, yet the effect of the façade and tower is venerable and picturesque. The impression of great antiquity which the building gives is perhaps due to the unusually dark colour of the stone, and the archaic look of the sculptures. The effect of the church on the whole is rugged and homely, and one can easily understand how it should have been regarded for many generations as the "Domum," the house of refuge and of consolation.

The principal features to be noticed are, the three round-headed doorways, the row of small columns with a richly carved cornice below, and the three beautiful circular windows.

The subject of the sculptures upon the façade is chiefly the virtue of the sacraments of the Church. This subject is illustrated not by a series of descriptive or historical figures, but by symbols.

The state of man without grace, and the power of the sacraments to save him from

sin and death, is shown by striking images drawn from the animal world.

In the lunette in the central door, enclosed in a circular aureole, is the figure of Christ, the Ruler of the world, seated upon a throne, with the sun and moon on either side. He holds the book of the law and points to His mother, as though indicating the way of salvation, by means of the incarnation. On the right stands the martyr Bishop Rufino. The three small heads between the principal figures are supposed to represent the three other martyr saints whose relics are preserved in the Duomo, namely, S. Cessidus, the son of Rufino, and the two deacons Marcellus and Exuperantius. These three were all put to death during the persecutions which were carried on in Umbria in the reign of Diocletian.

Turning now to the mouldings round this doorway, — the most important one is rounded and has figures in high relief. The lower part, on the jambs of the door, is covered with animals, tearing, rending, and devouring one another. These are types of man in his fallen and unregenerate

state, a prey to his passions. The same moulding carried round the arch over the door has eight groups of small figures, which cannot be easily distinguished. A crowned woman on a throne, on the left side, probably represents the Church. The baptism of a child and of an adult signify the means of grace.

The flat mouldings have designs of a conventionalized vine plant, with small figures of men gathering the fruit and birds eating the grapes. These designs represent allegorically the life of the Christian in the Church, nourished by its sacraments.

Such a theme is frequently illustrated upon the mouldings of Romanesque doorways. Attention should be given to the various details, and a comparison made between different examples.

The side doorways. — In the lunettes are two striking images of the mysteries of the Christian faith. Above the door to the right two peacocks drink from a large vase, and above the door to the left two lions in a similar fashion are placed on either side of a great vessel.

Such a design, in which animals stand upon either side of some sacred object, as, for instance, a tree or an altar, is a common means of expressing devotion or worship. It exists in the art of many ancient races.

The sculptures over the doorways at Assisi illustrate the efficacy of the sacraments of baptism and of the eucharist. The large vessel is a figure, not only of the font, but also of the chalice. The lion signifies the fortitude which the Christian derives from these sources of purification and life. The peacock, because of the supposed incorruptibility of its flesh, is an emblem of the gift of immortal life received through the Christian sacraments.

The lintels. — In the centre of each lintel is the Lamb, the "Agnus Dei," supported on the right door by the four symbols of the Evangelists; on the left by two eagles with outspread wings. The eagle, on account of its soaring flight and its power of looking at the sun, was used as a figure of the soul in contemplation.

On the jambs of the doors and round the lunette are symbols representing the Christian

in the midst of temptations. The cross has the central position in the half circle. At the sides of the door are emblems of the baptized soul, the fish, the stag, and the dove, combined with symbolical figures of the devil represented as a dragon and as a two-headed monster.

The animals sculptured in the round and placed at the sides of the doorways as guardians are one of the characteristic features of Romanesque buildings.

Those at the side doors are much destroyed, and can no longer be recognized. Those at the central door are excellent examples of lions as they were commonly represented by the sculptors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Such guardian animals, whether griffins or lions, signify the office of the Church in its twofold capacity of protecting the humble and punishing the proud. It will be noticed that, as a general rule, the animal on the left punishes while the one on the right protects. Here the lion on the left devours a man who is perhaps intended to represent a soldier, the usual emblem of heretical pride. The lion on the

right protects a sheep, which lies peacefully between the fore-feet of the guardian. The sheep is the type of the humble Christian.

The sculptured cornice, underneath the colonnade, has a number of fantastic-looking animals, frequently described as " grotesques."

When examined, however, they are found to be of the same character as the other parts of the decoration. They are illustrations of familiar legends, or symbols of some abstract quality.

Immediately above the central door, for instance, are two small winged dragons placed back to back, and hemmed in by two stags that attack them on either side. The stag was said to be the great enemy of dragons and serpents, killing them whenever it could. The stag or hart, on the authority of Scripture (Ps. xlii.), was an emblem of the Christian thirsting after righteousness. Hence an image of a stag destroying a serpent suggested to the mind the Christian turning against his vices and destroying them. (A fine illustration of the subject will be found on the church of S. Pietro, Spoleto.)

To the right of these stags, on the cornice, are several pairs of animals drinking from a vase. These figures repeat the allusion to the sacraments expressed in the lunettes above the side doors. The animals here, however, are dragons and other monsters, emblems not of the true believer, but of those who are living in mortal sin and yet dare to remain in the Church.

The round windows. — The symbols of the four Evangelists are placed round about the central window, and below are the figures of three men who appear to sustain the weight of the circle.

The window may be intended to stand for the globe of the world, and the three men perhaps indicate the three parts of the earth, namely, Europe, Asia, and Africa.

The round window to the left has a little figure of the Archangel Michael in the centre. On the outside of the circle, on the wall, are two statues probably representing St. Peter and St. Paul.

(A more detailed study of the figures upon the façade will be found in Canon Elisei's *Studio sulla Cathedrale*, Assisi, 1893.)

A FOUNTAIN IN ASSISI

Close to the entrance is the round font in which the citizens of Assisi for many generations have been baptized, including St. Francis, Sta. Chiara, and her sister Agnes. Here also, in 1195, the Emperor Frederick II. received baptism when three years of age. He was living at that time under the charge of his tutor, Conrad of Swabia, Duke of Spoleto.

In the nave, in front of the bishop's throne, is a triptych by Niccolo da Foligno (working between 1430 and 1502), a pupil of Benozzo Gozzoli. It represents the Virgin and Child with four saints. The first to the right is S. Rufino, the bishop, and beside him is the martyr Exuperantius. On the left stands S. Pietro Damiano, who wrote the life of S. Rufino. He holds a book, and his neighbour, the deacon Marcellus, presents an inkpot to the author, having in his other hand a scroll with the first words of the Gospel of John. This scroll is significant of one of the duties of the deacon's office as reader of the Scriptures. The figures of the saints are grave and dignified, and there are no trifling acces-

sories or studies of still life introduced to disturb the serious character of the picture. The predella has the story of the martyrdom of the patron saint in three scenes. In the first we see the holy man subjected to the flames, but remaining uninjured. He was then thrown into the river Chiagio and drowned. It is said that when the body was recovered a lily sprang from the mouth and described how the martyr had died. The third scene represents the translation of the body into the city.

The relics of the saint are preserved in a black marble urn made in 1850. The choir stalls, ornamented with intarsiatura, were executed in 1520 by Giovanni da S. Severino.

CHAPTER II

MONUMENTS CONNECTED WITH THE LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS

Chiesa Nuova

A SMALL street leading out of the southern corner of the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele takes us to the Chiesa Nuova, a church raised on the site of the house which belonged to Pietro Bernardone, the father of St. Francis.

A portion of a wall, with an arch above a door, are shown as a part of the old dwelling-house. A niche in this wall is pointed out as the place where St. Francis was shut up by his father.

In the alley on the north side of the church is the little Cappella di S. Francesco, built on the site of a stable where St. Francis was born. The legend that his birth took place in a stable is probably due to the parallel

which was drawn between the life of the saint and that of Christ.

Sta. Maria degli Angeli

The church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli, which forms such an imposing feature in the vale of Spoleto, is only a few minutes' walk from the station at Assisi.

Under the great dome are two buildings of supreme interest in the history of St. Francis, viz., the chapel of the Porziuncola, or the "little portion," and the cell in which the saint died.

According to tradition the chapel of the Porziuncola was originally built by four pilgrims, so that they might place in it a relic of the tomb of the Virgin which had been given to them by St. Cyril of Jerusalem. This first chapel of the pilgrims is supposed to have been built in A.D. 352, and its name, St. Mary of the Angels, has been attributed to the picture which they caused to be painted in it — an Assumption of the Virgin surrounded by angels.

Another account is that the name arose

because the songs of angels were often heard in the place, and especially on the night of the birth of St. Francis, September 26, 1182.

In 516 St. Benedict found the first sanctuary abandoned, and he is said to have rebuilt it for some brethren of his order. According to some accounts it received the name of Porziuncola, or "little portion," as being so small and unimportant among the Benedictine foundations.

After the restoration of S. Damiano Francis began to work on the chapel of the Porziuncola, and when the brethren increased in number he begged the Abbot of Monte Subasio to let him have it, so that there might be a place in which the brethren could say the office.

In so far as such an one could be said to have a home, the neighbourhood of the Porziuncola was the home of Francis, and he always desired that this chapel should be a pattern in its poverty for all the other places of the brethren.

The earliest disciple that St. Francis had was Bernard of Quintavalle, and it is told in the Fioretti how their first act of com-

panionship, after hearing mass together, was to open the missal and take counsel from the passages they found.

Three times this was done, and their rule of life was founded on the three messages: "If thou wilt be perfect go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor;" "Take nothing for your journey, neither stave nor scrip, neither bread neither money;" and lastly, "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow Me." On this "firm rock of the exceeding great humility and poverty of the Son of God" was built the fabric of the Franciscan order. The character of St. Francis was too simple, too direct, and too shrewd to allow him to bring this teaching into conformity with the ordinary methods of mankind. He accepted the sayings in their plain and literal meaning, and whatever stood in the way of their realization he put away from him. Property meant servitude to material things; it caused a diversion of energy from the true aim of life; it brought with it temptation to covetousness and avarice; it was a hindrance to that true

liberty of soul in which alone the spiritual life can thrive.

Learning was even more dangerous than riches. In getting knowledge mind and body were tempted beyond the way of humility; dependence on the understanding, even if it were of Scripture, would in time of trial lead only to coldness and emptiness. The body also was a source of temptation. Superfluity of food was a hindrance to body and soul; and, on the other hand, too much abstinence was a temptation into which St. Francis admitted he had himself fallen.

Patient and loving endurance of wrong, an obedience " wherein flesh and blood have naught of their own," poverty that leaves the soul a true spiritual freedom, and humility leading to the knowledge and understanding of God, such were the means by which St. Francis strove to imitate the life of Christ.

He never shrank from his fellow-men, he did not fear contact with the world, he only desired to strip life of all that obscures the real aim in living.

Many brethren joined St. Francis, al-

though few followed him. From the first difficulties arose: some found the rule too severe, and others who felt a true vocation could not reconcile the strongly developed personality of the religion of St. Francis with the claims of the hierarchy and the system of the Church. Yet he was always ready to be in subjection to the clergy. He refused to ask for a privilege to preach, he bade his followers wait in humility until they were called; and in regard to doctrine he was a faithful son of the Church.

But a man who would take no thought for the morrow, who would own neither breviary nor psalter, who rejected learning, and begged his daily bread, who refused to accept the rule of St. Benedict, or St. Augustine, or St. Bernard, and who would follow only the way that had been shown to him by the Lord, must have been a severe trial to the faith of politicians and churchmen like Innocent III. and the Cardinal Ugolino. The latter, who became Pope as Gregory IX., was deeply touched by the spirituality and simplicity of St. Francis; nevertheless he spared no pains to bring the brethren within

the influence and order of ecclesiastical authority.

The struggle was too much for St. Francis, and in 1220 he gave up the rule of the order to Pietro di Catana. In 1221 Pietro died, and was succeeded by Brother Elias. In this man was mingled a true love of St. Francis, with a worldly spirit altogether at variance with that of his master. Thus before the death of its founder the order had lost its unity of purpose.

The ecclesiastically-minded Cardinal and the worldly-minded Brother Elias have raised their monument to the founder in the church of S. Francesco. But if we would realize the life of the simple brother we must seek its memorials in the humble chapel of the Porziuncola, at S. Damiano, and at the Carceri.

It was in the chapel of the Porziuncola that the second order of the Franciscans originated in the dedication of Sta. Chiara. Having been touched by the preaching of Francis, she left her father's house, and in the Holy Week of 1212 she was received by him in the little chapel. Her hair was cut

off, and she gave herself as a servant of the poor.

Years afterwards, desiring to eat with Francis, Sta. Chiara met her spiritual father in front of the Porziuncola, and for the first beginning of refreshment, Francis spoke of God with such sweetness and so marvellously that they were wrapt in contemplation. A sign of the presence of the Spirit was given to the people of the country, who saw Sta. Maria degli Angeli, and the dwelling-place of the brethren and the wood about it, all in flames. The spot is marked by a pillar near the cell where St. Francis died.

Once again the story of Sta. Chiara is concerned with the Porziuncola. At the season of Christmas she was sick and not able to go to office in the church at S. Damiano, and by the will of Christ she was miraculously carried to the chapel of the brethren, where she was present at matins and received communion, and was borne back to her bed.

When the Abbot of Monte Subasio granted the chapel to Francis, he made it a condition that it should be the head place of the order,

and it was here that the general chapters were held.

On one famous occasion, probably in 1219, five thousand brethren were gathered, those of the different provinces each having their places. The writer of the Fioretti describes them as spending their time in reasoning of God, in prayer, and in works of charity. They said the office, they lamented their sins, they discoursed of the salvation of the soul. And all was done in such silence and with so much discretion that there was no noise. When the Cardinal Ugolino saw the gathering, he said, "Truly this is the camp and the army of the Cavaliers of God." St. Francis bade that none should take heed for food, and the people of the country brought all that they had need of. St. Dominic, who was there, knelt before Francis and confessed and repented, inasmuch as he had judged hardly concerning the carelessness for the food of so many people, and he took for himself and his brethren the rule of holy poverty.

There was, however, another side to the picture which we find in the *Mirror of*

Perfection. Speaking of what was probably the same chapter, the writer says that some of the brethren urged the Cardinal to the end that Francis should follow the counsel of the wiser brethren, and that they should live according to the rule of St. Benedict or St. Augustine. When the Cardinal admonished Francis he answered, "The Lord hath called me by the way of simplicity and humility, and this way hath He pointed out to me in truth for myself, and for them that are willing to believe me and to imitate me. . . ." (See *Mirror of Perfection*, 68.)

Five years after this Francis with his brethren came back from Monte della Vernia, where he had seen the visions of the Crucified One. As they came near to the place Brother Leo saw a cross going before St. Francis. When he rested it rested, and when he went on it went with him, and from it there shone on the face of Francis a bright light, and the vision was with him till they entered the place of the brethren at Sta. Maria degli Angeli.

The present church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli was built from designs by Vignola,

INTERIOR OF SANTA MARIA DEGLI ANGELI

and the first stone was laid in 1569. It covers two buildings, the Porziuncola and the cell in which St. Francis died.

The visitor is generally taken in the first place to the sacristy. The walls of this room are panelled with carved wood-work of the sixteenth century, and in one corner there is a design intended to represent the Sepulchre at Jerusalem. There is a small half-length figure of Christ by Perugino, and there are two small paintings by Guido Reni. From the sacristy a short passage leads to the chapel of S. Carlo Borromeo. Here there is a rude picture of St. Francis, attributed to Giunta Pisano; it is painted on a piece of wood which is said to have formed part of the bed of St. Francis.

From the chapel of S. Carlo Borromeo we pass along an arcade to a space of open garden ground; on the left grow the roses of St. Francis.

The miracle of the roses happened in January. St. Francis had suffered much from temptation, and so that the flesh might be subdued, he went out and rolled among thorns and briars. Suddenly they burst out

into flower, and ever since they have grown without thorns. Two angels led him back to the altar, where he had a vision of Christ and Madonna seated on their throne in heaven among many angels. His prayer was heard, and indulgence was granted to those who are truly penitent and who visit the church.

From this garden the visitor enters the chapel of the roses. The inner part, which covers the grotto where Francis lived, was built by S. Bonaventura; the outer part was built by S. Bernardino. The whole contains frescoes painted by Tiberio d'Assisi, and though the pictures are not remarkable works of art, they harmonize with their surroundings.

The frescoes on the right in the chapel of S. Bernardino are: —

1. St. Francis rolls in the thorns; two angels appear to him.

2. St. Francis is led by two angels back to the church.

The pictures on the left are: —

3. St. Francis prays to Christ for an indulgence.

4. St. Francis presents roses at the altar, and sees a vision of Christ and Madonna.

5. The indulgence is confirmed by Honorius III.

6. St. Francis, accompanied by seven bishops, preaches the indulgence.

In the chapel of S. Bonaventura, which is built over the grotto, Tiberio has painted St. Francis with twelve disciples. The altar is dedicated in the names of five Franciscans who suffered in Morocco. While the martyrdom was taking place it was miraculously revealed to St. Francis as he knelt in prayer.

In the grotto below the altar, where St. Francis prayed, there are preserved two logs, part of the pulpit from which St. Francis preached the indulgence.

The visitor now re-enters the church. In the choir, to the left, is a door leading to a small choir, where a pulpit of S. Bernardino is preserved. Near this entrance, in the choir itself, is an elaborate sixteenth-century pulpit, with confessionals for various languages below.

Round the pulpit the following subjects are carved: —

1. St. Francis rolls in the thorns.

2. St. Francis and seven bishops preach the indulgence.

3. St. Francis, when he presents the roses, sees the vision of Christ.

4. Honorius III. confirms the indulgence.

5. St. Francis descends into Purgatory to release the souls of brethren who are suffering.

6. Death of St. Francis.

To the right of the choir, opposite to this pulpit, is the room in which St. Francis died. On the outside is a panel painted by Giunta Pisano; it is said to have been part of the wooden cover which was over the body when it was carried up to Assisi. On the altar is a figure of the saint, worked by Luca della Robbia from a mask taken from the face of St. Francis.

On the walls are frescoes by Lo Spagna representing the twelve first disciples and six other famous Franciscans. In a tabernacle to the right of the entrance is preserved the cord of St. Francis marked with blood

when he received the stigmata, and also a piece of the habit of S. Bonaventura.

In the chapel of the relics, to the right of the entrance into the sacristy, is a crucifix by Giunta Pisano.

In a chapel to the left of the nave is a fine piece of Della Robbia ware. The centre of the composition is a Coronation of the Virgin. To the left St. Francis receives the stigmata, and to the right St. Jerome has a vision of Christ on the cross. In the predella there is (1) an Annunciation, (2) the Nativity, (3) the Adoration of the Magi.

The chapel of the Porziuncola itself stands under the great dome of the church. The fresco over the entrance door is a mannered picture by Overbeck, representing Christ and Madonna in heaven surrounded by angels. In a corresponding position on the east end of the chapel is a fresco by Perugino, restored in modern times. We see the uprights of two crosses, but no actual crucifixion. Madonna is supported by attendants, St. Mary Magdalene looks upwards, and St. Francis kneels and clings to the foot of the cross.

On the right wall of the chapel, on the outside, there are remains of a fresco and an inscription to the memory of Pietro di Catana, who died in 1221. So many miracles were worked by its virtues that Francis ordered that no more should be done, and after that its power ceased.

About two miles from Sta. Maria degli Angeli, on the road to Spello, there is the church which has been known as that of Rivo Torto, the place to which St. Francis and his brethren went on their return from receiving the approbation of Pope Innocent III. In the church some small cells are shown which have been said to be those used by St. Francis. It is now believed that this church is not the place connected with the life of the brethren.

The Church of S. Damiano

The church of S. Damiano is an almost unchanged record of the primitive surroundings amongst which St. Francis and his early followers passed their lives.

AN OLD BRIDGE OVER THE TIBER

The simple chapel with its rough coarse furniture and the tiny dwelling-rooms attached are just as they were when Sta. Chiara and the women who followed her example lived here a life of holy poverty. The followers of Francis were not at first divided into orders, and there was no definite organization. The life which the master himself led was the pattern followed by the disciples, and simple rules were given to them by him to meet the conditions as they arose.

S. Damiano is associated with two momentous experiences in the spiritual life of St. Francis. It was here that he first devoted himself to the service of God, and it was in the work of restoring the ruined church that he made himself equal to the humblest.

During the time when he had become dissatisfied with his way of life, but had not resolved to separate himself from it, he went frequently to pray in the old chapel. While kneeling before a Byzantine crucifix he believed that he heard a voice saying, " Francis, go and restore My church."

Obeying the command literally, the young

man sold some of his father's cloth in the market at Foligno and came back to S. Damiano with the money, which he offered to the priest.

This act was decisive in separating him from his old life, for in order to escape from the anger of his father he left his home and took refuge in the chapel. When summoned by the magistrates of Assisi, at the instance of his father, he replied that as he had become the servant of the Church it was before the ecclesiastical tribunal that he should appear.

The bishop advised him to renounce all that he owned from his parents. Francis, fulfilling the injunction to the letter, stripped off his clothes and laid them at his father's feet, with the words, " Now I can say, ' Our Father, who art in heaven.' "

Soon after this he began the labour of restoring the chapel of S. Damiano. He went from door to door begging for money or for materials for the building, carrying the stones which were given to him upon his shoulders. The work of restoration was finished about the year 1208. S. Damiano

is associated not only with St. Francis but with Sta. Chiara, the first woman who adopted the Franciscan rule.

The chapel had been given to St. Francis by the Benedictine monks of Monte Subasio, and it became the home of Sta. Chiara soon after her act of renunciation in 1212. Within a short time she was joined by a few other women, and they received from St. Francis a rule of life very similar to that which was given to the brethren. St. Francis undertook that he and his followers should supply all the wants of the sisters, either by their labour or by the gathering of alms. In exchange, Sta. Chiara and her companions rendered service to the brethren by tending the sick and by making fair linen cloth for the furnishing of the altars of poor churches.

S. Damiano preserves various records of the life of labour and devotion spent by the "Poor Clares" within its walls, but there is no visible record of the visit which St. Francis paid when he composed the "Canticle of the Sun." It was in 1224 that the saint, on his return from Monte della Vernia, spent

some weeks in a little reed hut which Sta. Chiara had built for him in the garden.

Francis was suffering not only in body but also in mind. He was weighed down by illness, his sight was almost gone, and he was burdened with a sense of discouragement. The generalship of the order had been resigned to others two or three years before, and Francis now found himself in continual conflict with the more politic and more worldly schemes of the leaders. In the garden of S. Damiano, in the midst of the familiar scenes of his first enthusiasm, something of his old fervid joy in living came back to him, and he composed the " Canticle of the Sun." In this song he praises God for the goodness of living, for the sun, moon, stars, water, wind, fire, and earth. We and they are parts of the same creation. They are our helpful brothers and sisters. He thanks God also for His love and mercy, and lastly for His gift of our sister Death.

The author, well pleased with his song, began to lay plans how some of the brethren should be sent out as " Joculatores Domini," minstrels of God, and should sing the praises

of the created things everywhere. After having preached and sung he wished that they should say to the people, " All the payment that we want is that you should persevere in penitence."

The church stands on the slope of the hill about half a mile beyond the walls of the town. The approach to the inconspicuous building is by a steep path through an olive garden.

There is a little courtyard in front of the church, and entering it, we see in front of us on the end wall of the building a damaged fresco illustrating an incident in the life of Sta. Chiara.

In 1234 a body of Saracen troops, led by one of the generals of Frederick II., passed through Umbria, attacking and pillaging the towns as they went. On their way to Assisi they came to the convent of S. Damiano, and began to assail the building. The soldiers were already mounting the ladders raised against the walls when Sta. Chiara, carrying the Pix containing the Host in front of her, appeared at the little window. Kneeling down she began to sing,

"Thou hast rebuked the heathen, Thou hast put out their name for ever and ever." At the sound of her fearless voice the assailants, abashed and discomfited, withdrew from the attack and left both the convent and the city unmolested.

Under the portico, to the right of the entrance into the church, is a chapel which was added in the sixteenth century, with frescoes by Tiberio d'Assisi.

The picture represents the Virgin and Child enthroned, with S. Bernardino and St. Jerome on the left, and St. Francis and Sta. Chiara on the right. The small figure of a nun kneeling beside Sta. Chiara is said to represent her sister Agnes. S. Bernardino of Siena came to Assisi in 1425. He preached to large crowds of the inhabitants, exhorting them particularly against the love of personal adornment and of games of chance. A monogram of the name of Jesus was carried in procession through the streets, and the townspeople laid aside all work to attend the sermons of the saint.

Entering the church we find a small building with a low vaulted roof. There are damaged

frescoes upon the smoke-blackened walls, of small value as works of art. Above the altar, which stands against the wall to the left on entering, is a cupboard with a number of relics of Sta. Chiara.

The censer and chalice used by her and the bell which summoned the sisters to office are shown. They are of the simplest description, the fit possessions of one who carried out the ideal of holy poverty consistently through life. On the shelf is one of the loaves of bread which she blessed when Innocent IV. came to visit her. The cupboard also contains a breviary written by Frate Leone, and a bit of the cord of St. Francis.

A small chapel leading out of the nave on the right was added in the seventeenth century. It contains a carved crucifix by Innocenzo da Palermo (1635).

Behind the high altar is the old choir of Sta. Chiara, with the primitive wooden stalls and reading-desk. A list of the names of the sisters in the time of St. Francis is shown here, and a hole in the wall near the altar is pointed out as the place where St.

Francis hid when he was pursued by his father.

A number of small rooms with low roofs and worn brick floors lead out of the choir. A stone upon the wall of one of the passages marks the burial-place of the first followers of Sta. Chiara.

Upstairs, the oratory is of the same simple and primitive character. There are no works of art to be seen here of any value; there is only the faithful record of a life of voluntary self-denial. In the month of May, the year 1228, Gregory IX. came to Assisi for the purpose of arranging the preliminaries for the canonization of St. Francis, and turned aside on his journey to visit Sta. Chiara at S. Damiano. The Pope had already addressed many letters of encouragement to the foundress of the "Poor Clares," for whom he evidently entertained a warm admiration. At the same time he persistently tried to persuade Sta. Chiara to modify the rule of living without possessions. He endeavoured also to restrict the intercourse which existed between the brothers and sisters, and forbade the Frati to preach in

S. Damiano without the permission of the Holy See. Sta. Chiara, however, maintained an uninterrupted friendship with those of the brethren who had shared with her the disciple's enthusiastic belief in their master's ideal. When she died in the convent in 1253, three of the brethren stood beside her death-bed.

The Hermitage of the Carceri

This small convent is built on the sides of Monte Subasio. The path leaves Assisi by the gate at the end of the town farthest from S. Francesco, and from this point one or one and a half hours ought to be allowed for the walk.

Originally a little chapel was built here by the Benedictines, and since the time of Francis a network of small chapels, a few sleeping-cells, and a refectory have existed. In the woods round about there are caves associated with the names of the early Franciscans, and to these places they retired for solitary contemplation. Perhaps here more than elsewhere it is possible to realize the

daily life of the early Franciscans, and nowhere else is the sense of primitive simplicity so complete.

The visitor enters a small courtyard, in the centre of which is a well said to have been built by S. Bernardino of Siena, the spring itself being the result of a miracle worked by St. Francis. From this court we enter the chapel called after S. Bernardino; it is some twenty-one feet long by sixteen feet broad. In it are preserved relics of St. Francis: —

1. The tabernacle for the sacrament used in his time.
2. A chalice of the same period.
3. A pillow used by St. Francis.
4. The cord of Brother Egidio.
5. The cross and hair shirt of St. Francis.

At the end of the chapel are five little stalls, the second of which is traditionally assigned to St. Francis.

From this comparatively large chapel we pass into the Cappella Primitiva. This is said to have been the first chapel used by St. Francis; it has no window, and is only about twelve feet long by six feet broad.

THE ROAD TO PERUGIA

To the left, three steps lead up into the choir of S. Bernardino; round it there are twelve stalls, and beside these there is room for nothing but a reading-stand. The sacristy which serves for all these chapels is about six feet by four feet six inches, and it is lighted by a window no larger than a pane of glass. At the entrance to the sacristy there is a trap-door, and passing down about fifteen steps the chamber of St. Francis is reached. Like many other parts of the building, it rests on the live rock. The space occupied by the bed is shown. The room measures about nine feet by six feet. Next to this bed space is an oratory where St. Francis prayed.

The doors by which these chambers are entered are so small that no ordinary person can stand upright, and the width is strictly in proportion. Outside the oratory is an opening leading down into the gorge below it; it was by this passage that the devil escaped when he tempted St. Francis and was beaten off by the saint.

Returning to the monastery the small bed-chambers built against the live rock may be

seen. Below these is the refectory. At the end of one of the tables the place of S. Bernardino is shown. The wooded gorge in which the conventual buildings stand is most picturesque, and the views over the vale of Spoleto, both from the convent and from the path leading to it, are exceedingly fine.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO

General Notes upon the Building

FRANCIS died on the 4th October, 1226. It is said that he desired to be buried on the hill where criminals were executed, known as the Colle del Inferno. The story does not seem to rest on sound authority, but the fact that such a legend became current shows the popular estimate of the desire which Francis had for self-abasement.

On the day after his death the body was carried by way of S. Damiano up to Assisi and laid in S. Giorgio, now part of the church of Sta. Chiara. Francis was canonized by Pope Gregory IX. on the 16th July, 1228, and next day the foundation of the church of S. Francesco is said to have been laid. The first architect was a certain Jacobus or

Giacomo. He is supposed to have been in the service of Frederick II., who was friendly with Frate Elias, the general of the Franciscan order. The brethren worked at the building, and under the energetic direction of the general it was so far finished in 1230, that a general chapter of the order was held in the convent, and the body of St. Francis was translated from S. Giorgio on the 24th May. It is said that, in order to prevent a forcible seizure, it was planned between the magistrates and Frate Elias that at a certain point in the procession soldiers should surround the coffin and hurry it into the church, excluding all but the brethren. Whether this be true or not the place of burial was known to very few. In the year 1818 the tomb was discovered and opened, and the remains of the body were found. In 1232 Filippo da Campello appears as architect of the building. He was still at work in 1253. In 1236 it is recorded that Giunta Pisano painted a great cross with Frate Elias at the foot; but this has disappeared. In 1239 the building of the Campanile was sufficiently advanced to receive a bell made by Bar-

tolomeus, a Pisan; it bore the inscription "Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ rules." In 1246 the commune fixed the limits of the piazza in front of the church so as to prevent houses being built nearer to it. In 1253 Pope Innocent IV. consecrated the great altar of the lower church. It is formed of a single stone brought from Constantinople. The lower church as built by Frate Elias consisted of a simple nave, transepts, and shallow choir, following the plan of the upper church as we see it to-day. In the fourteenth century side chapels were added and the church assumed the form that it now has.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century (about 1310) two brothers of the Orsini family, Napoleone and Giovanni, built the chapels at the ends of the transepts, viz. the chapel of St. Nicholas or of the Holy Sacrament, and the chapel of St. John the Baptist.

Gentile Partino da Montefiore (Cardinal, 1298) was the founder of the chapel of St. Martin and the chapel of St. Louis the King opposite to it.

The chapel of St. Mary Magdalene was founded, or perhaps only finished, by Tebaldo Pontano di Todi, who was Bishop of Assisi from 1314 to 1329.

The chapel of St. Catherine or del Crocefisso is said to have been built by Cardinal Egidio Albornoz in 1353.

Pope Sixtus IV. (1471-1484) had been general of the order before he became Pope, and his reign was a time of activity at S. Francesco. Under the general Sansoni there was a good deal of restoration, and the vestibule to the lower church was added. The small burial-ground opening out of the chapel of St. Anthony the Abbot was also built in 1478.

The church of S. Francesco has its choirs to the west and its main entrances at the eastern end. For the purposes of description, however, it has been thought best to consider the orientation from an ecclesiastical point of view rather than from the natural. The choirs, therefore, are treated as if they were at the east end, and when the visitor stands in the nave and looks to the

CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO

altar, the transepts and chapels to the right hand are called southern, those to the left northern. The plan of the upper church is too simple to need any detailed description; that of the lower is more difficult. On the ground plan the chapels, etc., are indicated by Roman numerals. It will save time if the traveller will begin by going round the church, using the Ground Plan I. to familiarize himself with the various points of interest, somewhat as follows: —

The visitor enters the lower church by the doorway of 1478 (XI. on Plan I.). On the vault of the arch overhead there is a worthless picture of St. Francis in Glory. The significant part of the legend attached to it may be rendered: "Stay thy steps to rejoice, O traveller. Now thou drawest near to the hill of Paradise. This is the glorious basilica dedicated to the divine Francis of Assisi, the restorer of the falling Church of Christ."

To the right of the entrance transept there is: —

1. A Gothic tomb with an urn supposed

to be that of Catherine, daughter of the Queen of Cyprus.

2. A Gothic tomb supposed to be that of Hecuba, Queen of Cyprus, who died in Assisi in 1240.

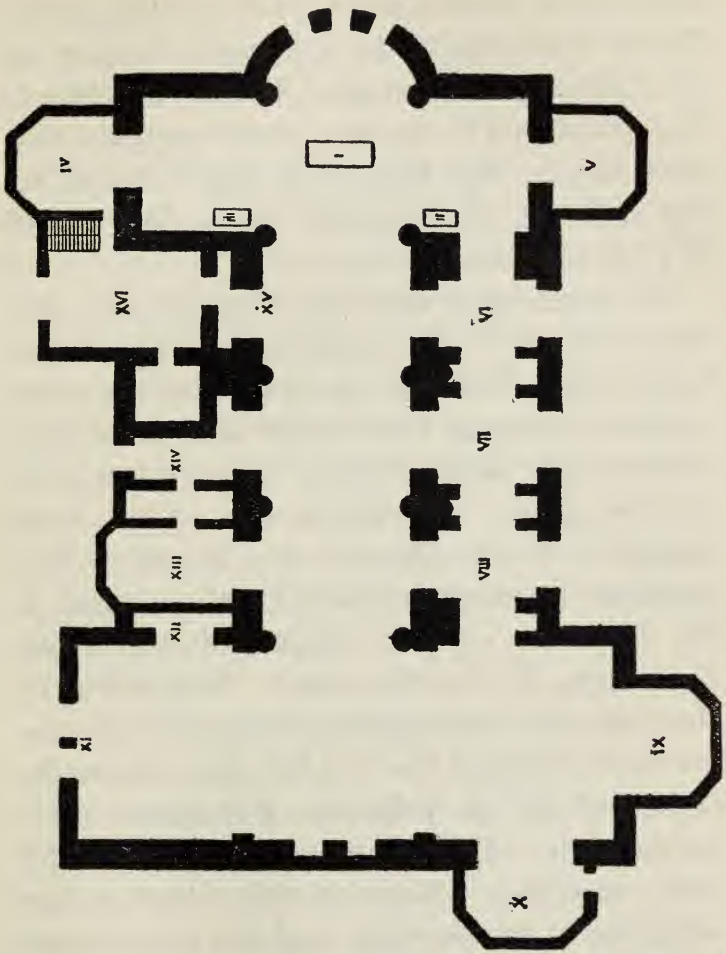
3. The Chapel of St. Anthony the Abbot, containing the tombs of a Count of Spoleto and his son. Out of this chapel a door leads to a small graveyard (1478) surrounded by cloisters. The entrance transept is closed by the Chapel of St. Catherine or del Crocefisso (X. on the plan).

Returning to the entrance door (XI. on the plan), there is to the left: —

1. The small chapel of St. Sebastian.

2. A fresco attributed to Ottaviano Nelli. Madonna is seated on a throne, on the pedestals of which are the four cardinal virtues. To the left stand SS. Francis and Anthony the Abbot, and to the right a bishop.

Passing into the nave the first chapel to the left is that of St. Martin (XIII. on Plan I.). The first to the right, that of St. Louis the King, or St. Stephen (VIII. on the plan). The second chapel to the left is that



Plan I. — Ground Plan of the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

of St. Peter of Alcantara (XIV. on the plan). The second chapel to the right is that of St. Anthony of Padua (VII. on the plan). The pulpit (XV. on the plan) occupies the next bay to the left. The third chapel to the right is that of St. Mary Magdalene (VI. on the plan).

We next pass into the transepts, in the centre of which (I. on the plan) stands the high altar. Turning to the right into the southern transept there is the altar originally dedicated to Maria Virgine Immacolata (II. on the plan). Behind it five of the first disciples of St. Francis are buried. The southern transept is closed by the chapel of St. Nicholas or the chapel of the Holy Sacrament (V. on the plan). Returning to the high altar and passing to the left into the northern transept there is the altar originally dedicated to St. John the Evangelist (III. on the plan). Behind it are buried five of the early disciples. Near to this altar is the entrance to the sacristy, and the stair which leads to the upper church.

We have in the next place to examine the various systems of frescoes throughout

the upper and lower churches. Those in the *upper* are distinguished by *letters of the alphabet*, those in the *lower* church by *Arabic numerals*.

The paintings have such various interests that it has been thought best in the first place to group them according to the artistic influences which they appear to represent, and then to suggest the probable significance of the various parts of the work in the light of the ideas of the time, and particularly with regard to the theories of St. Francis and his disciples. In addition to such general considerations some description of the frescoes which appear to be of most interest has been attempted.

Artistic Influences

The overthrow of classical civilization in Western Europe in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era destroyed for a time all possibility of a native art in Italy. Throughout the turmoil and desolation of the Gothic, the Lombard, and the Frankish conquests the Church alone maintained any sem-

blance of imperial traditions. It was the Church also that first felt the want of an art that might enable her to christianize the newly converted barbarians.

When dogma could not be expressed in terms of the written word, it became necessary to make an appeal to the eye and to the feelings.

For many centuries the Church had to depend on the east for the pictures, the mosaics, and the sculpture by means of which the Christian faith was made familiar to the barbarians. Constantinople was more fortunate than Rome, for from the foundation of the city up to the time of the fourth crusade (1204) no foreign invaders entered her gates. There was thus a continuous tradition from the days of Constantine onwards. It was to men trained in this civilization that western Europe mainly owed the revival of art.

The process of recovery was very slow, but in the twelfth century there are unmistakable signs that the barbarian conquerors of southern Europe had begun to learn effectively from their Greek teachers.

In sculpture the first advance was made in France, and in painting in Italy.

During the thirteenth century there is evidence that the descendants of Roman and barbarian had become a new race full of energy and power, destined to transform the world.

It is in the church of San Francesco that the first efforts of this new race in the art of painting may be most easily studied. We can see here how a new style grew up in which new views of life were depicted by new methods.

Up to the end of the thirteenth century the native painter depended upon Byzantine custom, which he frequently comprehended in a very incomplete manner.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century Tuscan art became a free and natural exponent of the nation which had been fused out of many generations of Etruscan, Latin, and barbarian ancestors. Vasari says that Giotto banished the rude Greek manner. It could be more truly said that he banished the rude native manner.

In the following list of the frescoes in

S. Francesco, an attempt is made to place them in order of their tendency towards the full development of Florentine art.

It begins with those frescoes which show most Byzantine influence. These are followed by the works of artists who understood neither the good of the old tradition nor the force of the new life. This crude native art is followed by the Tuscan frescoes. These are arranged under the two schools of Siena and Florence, the latter being regarded as the most complete expression of the new manner. The list is not chronological, for there are no documents known at present by which the dates of the frescoes can be fixed, nor does it indicate any supposed order of artistic capacity. It is only an attempt to place the pictures according to tendency, beginning with Byzantine work and ending with Florentine.

I. *Frescoes in the Byzantine Manner*

Scenes from the Old and New Testaments.— Nave of the upper church.

Christ, St. Francis, Madonna, and St. John the Baptist.— Roof of the upper church.

II. *Transition from Byzantine to Tuscan Style*

Madonna and Child (attributed to Cimabue).— Southern transept, lower church.

III. *Frescoes in the Native Manner*

Acts of the Apostles.— Southern transept, upper church.

Death and Assumption of the Virgin.— Choir, upper church.

Life of Christ and St. Francis.— Nave, lower church.

The Four Evangelists.— Roof, upper church.

Apocalyptic scenes, etc.— Northern transept, upper church.

The Four Latin Doctors.— Roof, upper church.

IV. *Frescoes in the Sienese Manner*

Half-lengths of Franciscan saints.— Southern transept, lower church.

Acts of St. Martin.— Chapel of St. Martin, lower church.

Series of Passion scenes.— Northern transept, lower church.

Madonna and Child, with St. John the

Baptist and St. Francis.— Northern transept, lower church.

V. *Frescoes in the Florentine Manner*

Chapel of St. Catherine.— Lower church.
Chapel of St. Nicholas.— Lower church.
Life of St. Francis.— Nave, upper church.
Fresco over the pulpit.— Nave, lower church.
Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene.— Lower church.
Life of Christ.— Southern transept, lower church.
Allegorical frescoes over the high altar.— Lower church.

If the frescoes are studied in some such order as the foregoing, it will be seen that the abandonment of the old manner did not always lead to improvement. The native artist in his efforts to stand alone was hampered by the visible failings of Byzantine painters without being inspired by the imagination that often turned these faults into a form of virtue.

Nor were the artists before the time of Giotto gifted with the high intellectiual pur-

A QUIET STREET

pose that caused the abstractions of the Greek painters to become a magnificent means of rendering their speculations on human life.

But though the advance of painting was very slow it never halted, nor did it stand alone. The arts of sculpture and mosaic developed, however, at an earlier period than painting, and we must for a moment consider them, if we would understand the movement which resulted in the Sienese and Florentine schools of the fourteenth century.

Artistic Influences Preceding Giotto

The most promising art of the thirteenth century was that of sculpture.

North of the Apennines the growth of power may be gauged by a comparison between the rude work on S. Michele at Pavia with the sculpture of Antelami at Parma and Borgo San Donino. The improvement is based on the union of the vigour and imagination of the north with the classical instinct of the south.

In like manner Tuscan sculpture, in the

Romanesque manner, finds its highest expression in the group of St. Martin and the beggar, on the façade of the Duomo at Lucca. This work was executed about 1250, and it is a remarkable instance of the fusion of northern and classical influences. It marks the birth of a new style which is no longer Latin nor Teuton, but Italian.

During the thirteenth century, when Romanesque sculptors were perfecting this Italian style, Niccolo Pisano (1206?-1280?), passing by Byzantine models, went straight to the antique. He thus originated a new point of view which was destined to influence the development of art. Giovanni Pisano (d. 1320), the son and pupil of Niccolo, owed his training to the classical inclination of his father, but his inspiration was the same as that of the sculptors of Chartres and Amiens.

In Rome the name of Vassalectus on the cloisters of St. John Lateran (1220-1230) recalls a revival of the art of the marble mason. The Cosmati family also made many designs for pulpits, lamps, altar fronts, and candelabra. The work is characterized by

a sense of style, and is remarkable for his classical grace and refinement.

With one exception no remarkable work in mosaic belongs to the thirteenth century. Byzantine tradition held its own in the atrium of S. Marco at Venice, and the old manner prevails in the mosaics of the tribune of the baptistery at Florence (about 1225).

No other work of importance appears till 1290. At this time Pietro Cavallini, a Roman artist, made some remarkable pictures under the semi-dome of Sta. Maria in Trastevere. They show vigour and dramatic power, and they are distinctly in advance of the frescoes in the upper church at Assisi. It is noteworthy that when Giotto went to Rome (1298?) he is said to have chosen Cavallini as his assistant. Except perhaps at Subiaco, none of the important series of frescoes belonging to the thirteenth century show signs of new life until we come to the paintings at Assisi. Of these the scenes from the Old and New Testaments in the nave of the upper church are the most interesting examples. They are fine instances

of the state of painting before the time of Giotto. The art is still stiffened by memories of the old style, but they are striking and dignified pictures.

In all the various arts there may be noted at the end of the thirteenth century a blending of classical feeling with northern imagination and strength. It is to the organic union of these two tendencies that we owe the new style of Giotto. The development arising from the fusion of Latin and Teuton took two distinct lines in Tuscany. The schools of Siena and Florence both sprang from this new force. The former represented the emotional and devout, the latter the intellectual and scientific energies of the time. The Sienese painters moved neither so far nor so fast as the Florentines, and we therefore consider them first.

Sienese Branch of the Tuscan School

The Sienese school is represented by many examples in the lower church. To Simone Martini (1285?-1344) are attributed the half-length figures in the southern transept and

the scenes from the life of St. Martin in the chapel dedicated in his name. The Passion scenes, and the half-length of Madonna and Child with SS. John the Baptist and Francis, in the northern transept, are usually attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti (1348).

The attachment of the Sienese painters to Byzantine tradition was stronger than it was among the Florentines. Their painting is characterized by a religious feeling, which appeals to the emotions rather than to the thoughts of men. Instead of the dramatic vigour and the intensity of life such as we find in Giotto, the Sienese masters realize themselves in mystical sentiment.

The half-length figures in the southern transept have a detached air as if they only belonged to this life by accident. They are gracious and benign (except St. Francis), with just a faint shadow of melancholy. The singularity of the Sienese type, though it is not beautiful, yields itself to the realization of these saintly shadows. They are not contemplative souls, for that would imply thought; they are not emotional, for that would imply feeling. The limpid colour, the

abstract form, and the richness of such decoration as the artist permitted himself to use, all conduce to the unearthly fascination of these elusive figures. They seem ready to vanish before our eyes, and yet never cease to haunt our memories.

The frescoes in the Chapel of St. Martin are supposed to be by the same hand, and they have something of the same grace. If there is a curious air of arrested life, there is also beauty of detail and a refinement of feeling that cannot fail to charm. The frescoes make an appeal to us in a way that does not reach to any very deep emotion, nor to any wide intellectual outlook, but no one can fail to cherish the recollection of such cultivated and delicate art. The most striking work in the chapel is in the figures on the under surface of the entrance arch — Louis IX. of France stands before us with the true dignity of a king, and something of the spirit of a saint.

The Passion frescoes in the northern transept differ greatly from the other Sienese work in the church. There is a want of ordered disposition, there is an extravagance

in expression, a lack of quality in type, and a failure in dramatic capacity which is very remarkable. The colour is wanting in purity and refinement; this may, however, be owing to restoration. It is true that the history of the Passion makes a greater demand on the artist than any other works common in churches, but the painter of the northern transept has failed to give dignified and pertinent expression to these scenes of triumph, of treachery, of suffering, of grief, and of victory. There is vigour and sincerity and a magnificence in scale which prevents the pictures from being insignificant, but they fall below the level of Sienese and Florentine work of the period.

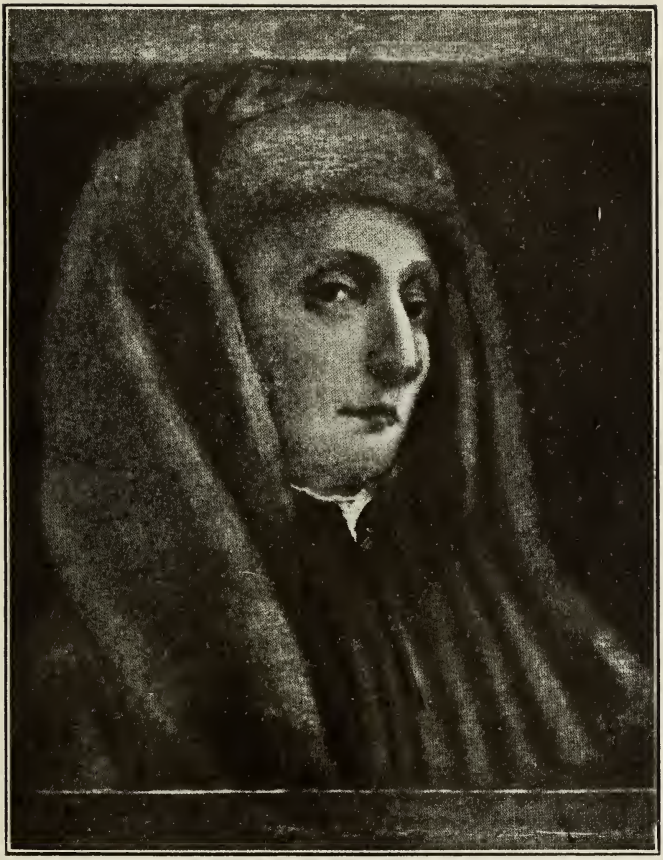
The Florentine Branch of the Tuscan School

Among the artistic interests which are gathered about the Church of S. Francesco it is the influence of Giotto that stands out beyond all others. It was the genius of this man that transformed Italian painting. What the artists of S. Denis, Chartres, and Amiens did for sculpture Giotto did for painting.

He lived in Florence (1276-1337) when the power of the city was at its height, and at a time when the force of individual men and of vigorous personality was making a small Italian town a centre of influence felt throughout the world. There were fewer obstacles than usual to the development of individual character, for the communes had beaten the empire, and they had subdued the feudal aristocracy. So great was the personal distinction of Florentine citizens that on the occasion of the presentation of ambassadors to Boniface VIII. at the jubilee of 1300, the number of Florentines among them caused him to say that, to the four old elements of the world there must now be added a fifth, viz., the Florentines.

Giotto was a true son of his vigorous and highly intellectual society. The fire and glow of his genius enabled him to express the ultimate ideas on which the life of the newly awakened world was based.

The hierarchical life resting on authority was losing its hold on cultivated Italian society. The natural life of the modern world was becoming the moving force among men.



PAOLO UCCELLO. — PORTRAIT OF GIOTTO

The art of Giotto is the expression of this new existence.

It was the same in other human relations. The spiritual appeal of St. Francis was made directly to the individual.

In literature Dante took the speech of the common people, the vulgar tongue, and in it he wrote his great poem. So likewise Giotto regarded the common life of ordinary men; he appealed to feelings and ideas which all share. He painted the mysteries of existence so that, in a measure, they might be comprehended by every one, and yet he understood the deeper spiritual significance of his subject. In the hands of many of his followers the outward character of his style was copied, without a sense of its inner qualities.

We often have cause to regret the great Byzantine tradition, in which the mystery is never forgotten although its directly human relationship may be overlooked.

The mind of Giotto did not yield to extremes. He could understand at once the feeling of the mystic and the active life of the ordinary man. He could paint the "holy poverty" of St. Francis with marvellous

insight, and he wrote a poem questioning the wisdom of the ideal of life which it involved. The Presentation of the Child in the Temple is the figure of a great mystery, and at the same time he invests it with the sentiment of the relation of mother and child. He knows how to pass by the immaterial, and yet he avoids becoming too purely abstract. His knowledge of perspective was imperfect, his control of drapery was incomplete, his observation of natural forms and of landscape was more or less elementary, and yet he can place his men and women before us as real beings, full of life and purpose. He causes them to move easily, he renders emotion for the most part naturally, he expresses thought with significance.

The gaiety and purity of his colour, the power and simplicity of his line, the directness and force of his design, place him in relation with all men. The man of the world and the mystic will each find what he seeks. Giotto is a great dramatist, a brilliant colourist, a powerful draughtsman, a master of design, an able thinker, and a man full of human sympathies.

No agreement has yet been reached as to what Giotto painted in S. Francesco. The series of the life of St. Francis in the upper church, the series of the life of Christ in the southern transept of the lower church, and the frescoes in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, have all been attributed to him, and have all been given to other masters as well. The four frescoes over the great altar in the lower church are probably the only works of which his authorship has been unchallenged. But though it is impossible to say certainly what he himself painted, it is to his influence that we owe all or most of the above-mentioned frescoes.

The Significance of the Pictures in S. Francesco

The purpose of the frescoes in the upper and lower churches may be most easily understood if they are taken in the following order: —

I. *In the nave, choir, and transepts of the upper church*, the frescoes deal with the general relation between God and man, as set forth in Scripture.

II. *In the southern and northern transepts of the lower church* there is the history of the Incarnation and Resurrection.

III. *In the chapels of the lower church*, the acts of St. Mary Magdalene, St. Stephen, St. Lawrence, St. Catherine, St. Nicholas, and St. Martin are described.

IV. The Franciscan ideal is painted *over the high altar of the lower church*, and the acts of St. Francis *in the nave of the upper church.*

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO — THE UPPER CHURCH

APART from the Franciscan pictures the series in the upper church gives a complete history of the world in its relation to man. The scenes of Creation are followed by the history of the Fall and the story of the Patriarchs (on the right wall of the nave). Opposite to these frescoes is an account of the Incarnation (on the left wall of the nave), which finds its completion in the Life and Death of the Virgin and her Coronation in Heaven (in the choir). The Gospel of the Incarnation was preached by the Apostles (southern transept), it was recorded by the Evangelists (vault), and taught by the Doctors (vault). The whole is brought to a conclusion in the Vision of the End of the World (northern transept), where on the one hand the prayers of the saints are offered up before

the throne, and on the other there is depicted the Fall of Babylon, typical of the fate of sinners.

The disposition of scenes from the Old and New Testaments in relation to each other, such as we find in the nave of the upper church, is common in mediæval thought. The law written by the finger of God is a foreshadowing of the Gospel. The men of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries did not regard the history of the world as divided into " ancient " and " modern " ; they had a stronger sense of historical continuity than we have, and the change from the old to the new was no more than a passing from the type to its realization. St. Augustine, speaking of the Old Testament, says: " In every page, while I pursue my search as a son of Adam in the sweat of my brow, Christ either openly or covertly meets me and refreshes me." Christ was killed in Abel; He was mocked in Noah; He was sacrificed in Isaac; He was made a servant in Jacob; He was sold in Joseph.

The Old and the New Testaments, the writings of the Prophets, Apostles, and

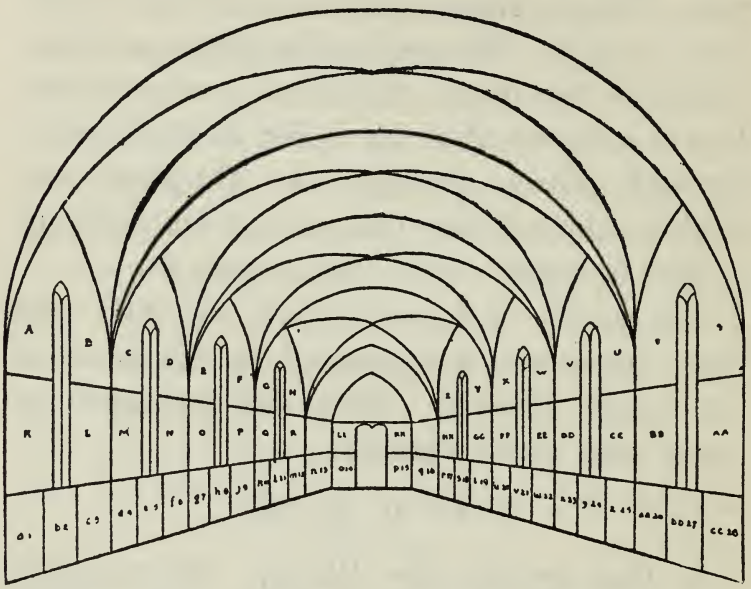
Evangelists, the unveiling of the Vision, and the teaching of the Doctors, all had one end — they are the record of faith (*Par.* xxiv. 91-96), they encourage our hope (*Par.* xxv. 88-90), they animate our love (*Par.* xxvi. 25-27). We realize the purpose of the design of the upper church as a whole when Dante declares that his belief in God comes through Moses, through the Prophets and Psalms, through the Gospel and the writings of the Apostles (*Par.* xxiv. 130-138).

The series of frescoes from the Old and New Testament are painted on the nave of the upper church. They are arranged in upper and lower courses.

PLAN II. (p. 78)

A. God creates the World. He appears in the act of blessing. Round about Him there is a double circle of light; in the inner circle there are angels, in the outer some faint traces suggest symbols of the heavens which the angels move and guide. Below this central figure the Dove, with a circular nimbus, floats over the water. To the left of the Dove is a symbol of the sun, and to the

right that of the moon. In the water there are fish of many kinds; on the land there are plants and trees, with birds resting in the branches. Four-footed beasts are represented



Plan II. — Nave of the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi

by sheep, etc. Creation is complete except for man.

B. God animates the form of Adam. This fresco is much damaged.

C. Creation of Eve.

D. Temptation and Fall. Little more

than the fine figure of Adam is left. It is of good proportion, and shows artistic capacity.

E. The Expulsion from Paradise. The figures of Adam and Eve are inferior to the single figure of Adam in the Temptation. The action of the angel is exaggerated.

F, G, H, destroyed.

The lower series from the Old Testament begin again at the *end nearest the transept.*

K. Noah building the Ark. The hand of God appears in the sky warning Noah to build the ark. Noah is seated overlooking his sons, who work with nervous energy.

L. The Entering into the Ark. This fresco is much destroyed.

M. Sacrifice of Isaac. The child is bound hand and foot on an altar of elaborate construction. Abraham's left hand rests on the child's head, his right arm is raised, and he wields a scimitar with a vigour and good-will that is decidedly repulsive.

N. Three Angels appear to Abraham. The fresco is much damaged, but two of the angels are still to be seen. The staid gravity and dignity of expression and bearing in the

principal angel is very striking. They have heavily braided hair, and immense wings crudely coloured as we see them now. The figure of Abraham kneeling before the angels is nearly gone.

O. The Deception of Isaac. The figure of Isaac is almost destroyed, and of Rebecca, who superintends the deceit, little more than the face is left. Jacob has a nimbus, his hands are covered with skin, and his father feels them to make sure of the identity of his son. The figure of Jacob is a remarkably fine example of the work which was done before the time of Giotto. There is in it a high sense of quality and style.

P. Esau brings Food to his Father. The blind patriarch is finely rendered. Esau, and a woman who stands looking on, are of a poor type.

Q. Joseph put into a Pit by his Brethren. This fresco is nearly destroyed. A few sheep may be seen on the rocks.

R. Joseph's Brethren kneel before Him. A servant in the background shows the gold cup which has been found in Benjamin's sack.

A MODERN STREET

The New Testament series on the left wall of the nave include: —

S. The Annunciation. Almost entirely gone.

T. Destroyed.

U. The Nativity. The Virgin reclines in a fashion usually associated with Byzantine design. The Child lies at the mouth of the cave, and behind are the ox and the ass. Joseph sits with his head resting on one hand. Over the roof of the cave the angels sing the "Gloria in excelsis," and one of them announces the birth to the shepherds, who look up in questioning wonder. Sheep browse in the foreground.

V. Destroyed. Probably the Adoration of the Magi was represented.

W. Presentation in the Temple. This fresco is nearly destroyed.

X. Flight into Egypt. Destroyed.

Y. Christ with the Doctors in the Temple. Much damaged.

Z. Baptism of Christ. Much damaged.

New Testament scenes in the *lower course*, beginning at the transept end of the wall are: —

AA. The Marriage in Cana. An elaborate feast is set out. The bride is dressed with great magnificence. She wears a crown and many jewels. At her side is the judge of the feast, represented by a form of classical type. On the left are the nimbed heads of Christ and His mother.

BB. Destroyed.

CC. The Betrayal. A crowded picture of inferior design. The types are poor, and the action of Peter, who cuts off the servant's ear, is grotesque.

DD. Destroyed.

EE. The Bearing of the Cross. May be just discerned.

FF. The Crucifixion. This picture is in very poor condition.

GG. The Entombment. The mother bends over her Son's head. St. Mary Magdalene raises one of His feet. St. John takes a hand. Two finely draped women stand in the back-ground. Angels weep and wail in the sky. The fresco is much damaged.

HH. The three Maries at the Tomb. Nearly destroyed.

SCHOOL OF GIOTTO. — MADONNA AND CHILD

The series is continued on the *end wall of the nave:* —

KK. The Ascension of Christ. Christ is seen rising into the heavens. An angel of fine design, and with brilliant wings, exhorts the Apostles.

LL. Descent of the Holy Spirit. The Dove, amidst rays, descends upon Madonna and the Apostles. The picture is badly damaged.

Over the centre of the western door is a medallion with Madonna and Child.

Above the Ascension is a bust of St. Peter, and above the Descent of the Holy Spirit is a bust of St. Paul.

The Choir

The upper church was dedicated in the name of S. Maria Assunta in Cielo. It is therefore natural that the life of the Virgin should be painted in the choir.

The history of Mary also forms a continuation of the history on the left wall of the nave, in so far as it leads to the consummation of the bond of union between mankind and Christ in His human relations.

The frescoes are in great part only shadows,

and some of the subjects can only be doubtfully determined.

PLAN III (p. 85)

(a.) Uncertain subject.

(b.) A striking landscape; subject uncertain.

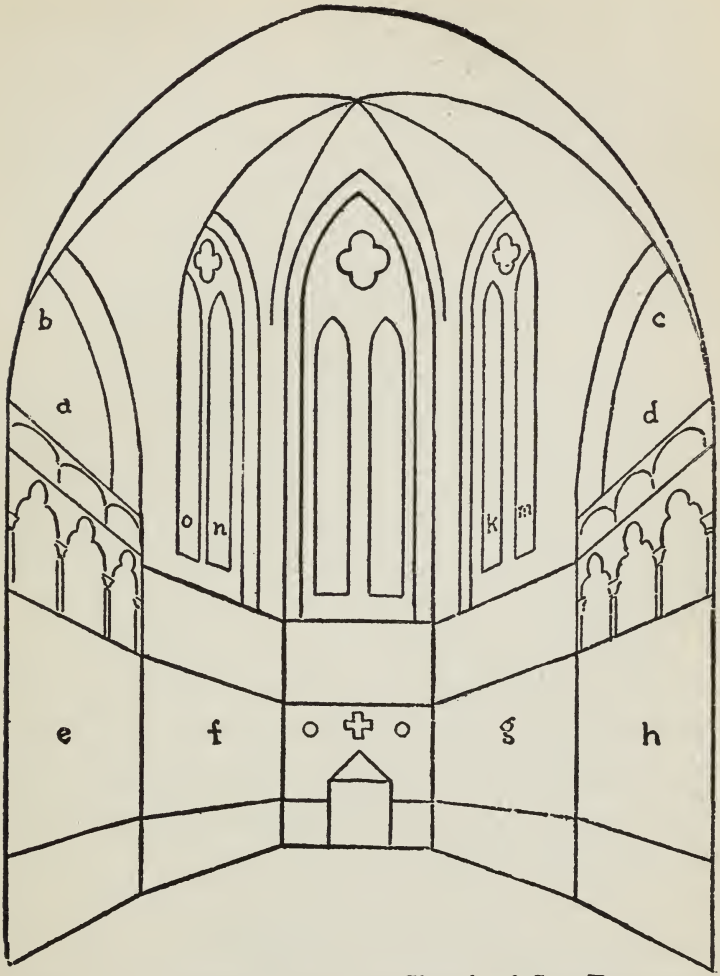
(c.) Perhaps the Nativity of the Virgin.

(d.) Perhaps the Betrothal of Joseph and Mary.

(e.) The Apostles assembled at the Deathbed of the Virgin. Mary being seized with a strong desire to be with her Son, an angel made known her approaching end. She asked that she might be allowed to see her sons and brethren the Apostles before she died, and they were miraculously brought from the various countries where they were preaching.

(f.) After the Apostles were gathered, Christ came in the night with the choirs of patriarchs, martyrs, confessors, and virgins. They all made songs and music around the Virgin, and in the morning the soul left the body and was carried up in the arms of Christ

(g.) The Assumption of the Virgin. The



Plan III. — Choir of the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi

body having been laid in a tomb by the order of Christ, the Apostles watched beside it. The fresco shows three ranks of those who waited. Nearest to the tomb are saints, each with bare head and a circular nimbus. The other ranks are crowned and nimbed. On the third day Christ appeared and asked how He ought to do honour to His mother? It was answered that as Christ had conquered death and reigned for ever over the world, He should raise His mother and set her on His right hand. We see the empty tomb, and over the ranks of saints Christ and the Virgin rise up in an aureole, supported by angels.

(h.) Christ and the Virgin in Glory.

In the galleries and the arcading above these pictures there are to the left two angels with Madonna, and three nimbed saints below, and to the right three Apostles (?), with ecclesiastics below.

Southern Transept

PLAN IV (p. 89)

This part of the church was dedicated in the name of the Apostles, who are painted

in the galleries, six on each side of the transept. (r.) The two lines are headed by SS. Peter and Paul. They are tall, striking figures, finely draped, and there is no tendency to make the heads unduly large.

Below are various acts of the Apostles.

(s.) Probably the healing of the lame man by SS. Peter and John at the beautiful gate of the Temple.

(t.) Probably a record of works of healing such as are described in Acts v. 6: "There came also a multitude out of the cities round about unto Jerusalem, bringing sick folk and them which were vexed with unclean spirits, and they were healed every one."

(u.) Death of Simon Magus. Simon being in favour with the Emperor Nero, and having by enchantment worked various seeming miracles, was withstood by SS. Peter and Paul. As a final effort to defeat the Apostles he announced that he would ascend into heaven. He climbed a high tower on the Capitol, and threw himself off. He was supported by devils until St. Peter commanded them to let him go, and then he fell

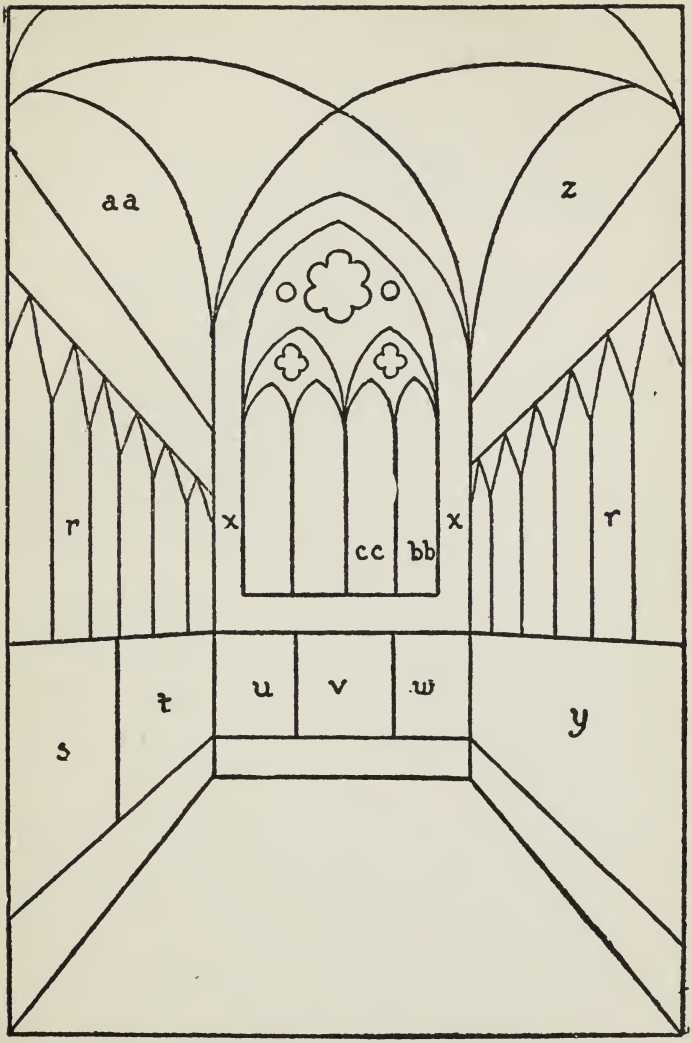
and died. The Roman Emperor (?), attended by soldiers, watches the scene.

(v.) Crucifixion of St. Peter under the Emperor Nero. St. Peter willed to be crucified head downwards, as he said it was not fitting that he should die as Christ had done. It is usually supposed that the pyramid in the picture represents that of Cestius in Rome.

(w.) Destroyed. Little can be seen except a rocky landscape.

(x.) At the sides of the window there are remains of a fresco showing St. Paul, probably before Nero. After the Apostle had confessed Christ, the emperor ordered him to be beheaded.

(y.) A Crucifixion. The figure on the cross is large and heavy, the eyes are closed, there is no inscription over the head, and the feet are separated. The lance and sponge bearers are in their usual places. Madonna falls fainting into the arms of those about her. The disposition of the crowd of figures is not well managed. Angels fly round the Christ, and one of them catches the blood from the side.



Plan IV. — Southern Transept of the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi

(z.) In the lunette above the Crucifixion is the remains of a picture of the Transfiguration.

(aa.) The fresco in the lunette opposite has been destroyed.

Northern Transept, Upper Church

PLAN V (p. 93)

This part of the church was dedicated in the name of St. Michael and the holy angels.

(dd.) In the galleries, on the right and left walls, there are large and magnificent figures of angels, three on each side.

(ee.) Above the gallery, to the right, are six half-lengths of angels.

(ff.) St. Michael and two other angels thrust down the great dragon and two other evil spirits.

The frescoes on the lower parts of the walls refer to the vision of the end of the world as it was unveiled in the book of Revelation.

(gg.) This fresco is badly damaged, but it is possible to see a representation based upon, but not exactly following, the vision described in Rev. v.

In the upper part of the picture is an almond-shaped aureole, enclosing a throne on which lies the Divine Child. At the sides of the aureole are circular glories, enclosing the four living things — the angel of St. Matthew and the eagle of St. John above, the bull of St. Luke and the lion of St. Mark below, each having a nimbus.

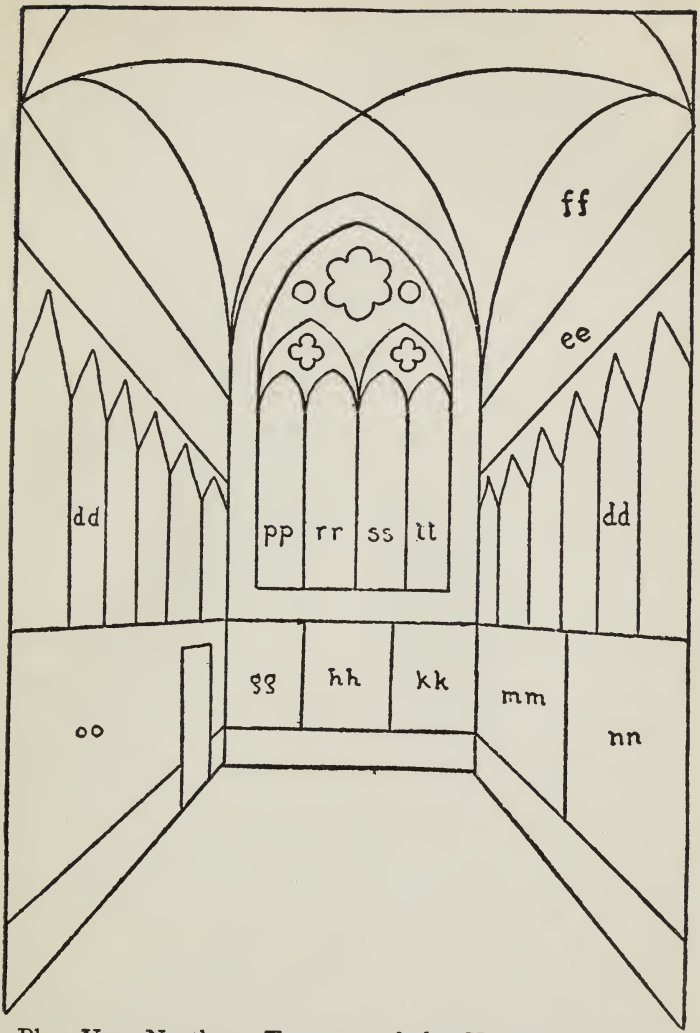
In two long lines converging towards the centre of the picture are the twenty-four Elders, each wearing a crown, and in some cases it is possible to make out their harps. Where these two lines meet are two vessels, " the two golden phials full of odours, which are the prayers of the saints." Behind each of the lines of elders are grouped saints and angels. The Lamb has been found worthy to open the book, and the four and twenty elders sing their new song of praise. Judgment is set, and the seals are about to be opened. The method of representing the Child is unusual.

(hh.) This fresco is very much destroyed. It probably represents the scene immediately preceding the sealing of the servants of God. Four angels stand outside the walls of a

city. They are the four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds, who receive the command to hurt nothing until the sealing of the hundred and forty-four thousand has been finished.

(kk.) The Seven Angels preparing to sound the Seven Trumpets. In the upper part of the picture Christ sits in an almond-shaped aureole. He shows the wounds of the Passion. To the right are three angels with trumpets, and to the left there are four. In the lowest part of the picture there are a number of saints kneeling in adoration, the principal figure of the group to the left being a Franciscan. In the centre is an altar; at the side an angel floats in the air, probably he who had the golden censer, having incense which he offers " with the prayers of all the saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne " (Rev. viii. 3).

(mm.) Probably the Fall of Babylon. The city has " become the habitation of devils and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird " (Rev. xviii. 2).



Plan V. — Northern Transept of the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi

(nn.) Another scene from the Apocalypse, almost entirely destroyed.

(oo.) The wall to the left is covered with a large picture of the Crucifixion. In spite of its ruinous state, there is a great air about this fresco. It gives a sense of strength and power, and it must in its original state have been one of the most striking of the whole series of works in the upper church. The figure on the cross has the feet divided; the waist cloth is ample, and seems to flutter in the breeze. There is some attempt to realize the anatomy of the body, with the unpleasant result often seen in early pictures. The eyes appear to be closed. Angels fly through the air as in the picture in the southern transept. At the foot of the cross, to the left, there is a woman who throws herself into an attitude of wild despair, while another figure gathers his robes about him and stretches out his arm with the air of a Roman orator. The group of women are well placed, and they have a good effect.

Roof of the Upper Church

The main design on the roof of the upper church is that in the *second bay from the*

transept, where half-length pictures of Christ, St. Francis, Madonna, and St. John the Baptist occupy the triangular spaces of the groining. The spaces in the corners are filled by angels, with outstretched wings, standing on globes. They have carefully braided hair, and inexpressive faces; their robes are jewelled. The principal figures have a certain stolid and fixed expression. The whole design shows the power which old tradition had upon the painter.

The frescoes of the four Evangelists, painted on the *vault over the crossing*, belong to the native school of art, which had broken away from the old tradition without gaining facility or power in any other direction. Each Evangelist has a writing-table, he is attended by the usual symbol, and an angel inspires him for his task. The church architecture affords some interesting detail. The style has points of likeness with that of the Apocalyptic paintings in the northern transept. Each Evangelist is associated with some special part of the world, St. Matthew with Judea, St. Mark with Italy, St. Luke with Achaia, and St. John with Asia.

On *the vault at the west end of the nave* the four doctors of the Latin Church are painted. St. Gregory is inspired by the Dove on his shoulder, and a monk sits opposite who writes to his dictation. The other doctors have books before them and an attendant monk sits opposite, the latter little more than half the size of the former. The doctors are enthroned on massive chairs, the attendants sit in a loggia, and between is a reading-desk. The accessories are elaborate, the furniture being decorated in the style of Cosmati mosaic. Everything indeed is done to increase the impressiveness and dignity of the figures. These four men embody the weight and authority of the Catholic Church, they personify the unbending and unyielding spirit of dogma.

Between the last bay of the nave and the western wall of the façade of the upper church there is a small bay covered with an ordinary arch. On it are painted sixteen figures, among which may be recognized those of St. Francis, Sta. Chiara, SS. Dominic and Peter Martyr, the Bishop, S. Rufino, S. Antonio of Padua, and St. Benedict. They are

MIDDAY IN ASSISI

stiff, ascetic forms, representing the religious idea in a state of equilibrium. Though they are thus very far from suggesting the mendicant ideal, they have a distinct character expressing well the rule of ecclesiastical authority.

Windows — Upper Church

Many of the windows in the upper church have fine glass in them. Parts of those in the choir and transepts are said to date from the thirteenth century, those in the nave belong either to the fourteenth or fifteenth; there are also modern restorations.

The windows in the choir and transepts may be considered together.

(pp.) *Northern transept* — Creation of the World.

(rr.) *Northern transept* — History of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel.

(k.) To the right in the *choir* — Life of Christ, from the Meeting with the Doctors, up to the Betrayal.

(m.) To the left in the *choir* — Life of Christ from the Bearing of the Cross, to the Descent of the Holy Spirit.

(bb.) *Southern transept* — Manifestations of Christ between the Resurrection and Ascension. In the windows where the life of Christ is treated the other half of the window has scenes from the Old Testament, supposed to be typical of the event in the New Testament. The Descent of the Holy Spirit has opposite to it Moses Descending from Mount Sinai; the Resurrection, and Jonah cast up by the Whale; Christ Bearing the Cross, and Abraham Taking Isaac to the Sacrifice; the Last Supper, and the Passover; the Transfiguration, and Moses with his face shining as he came from receiving the law; the Baptism of Christ, and the Crossing of the Red Sea, are other examples of this parallelism.

In this way the whole history from the Creation of the World is worked out — ending with an epitome of the Last Judgment, in the design above the light in the window of the southern transept. The window on the New Testament wall of the nave nearest the choir has scenes from the story of the Magi, the Slaughter of the Innocents, the Presentation, and the rods laid on the altar. The design at the bottom of the third window from the choir

on the same side is to be remarked for the relation between Christ and St. Francis and Madonna and Child. The fourth window from the choir on the Old Testament side of the nave has a series of scenes from the history of St. Francis.

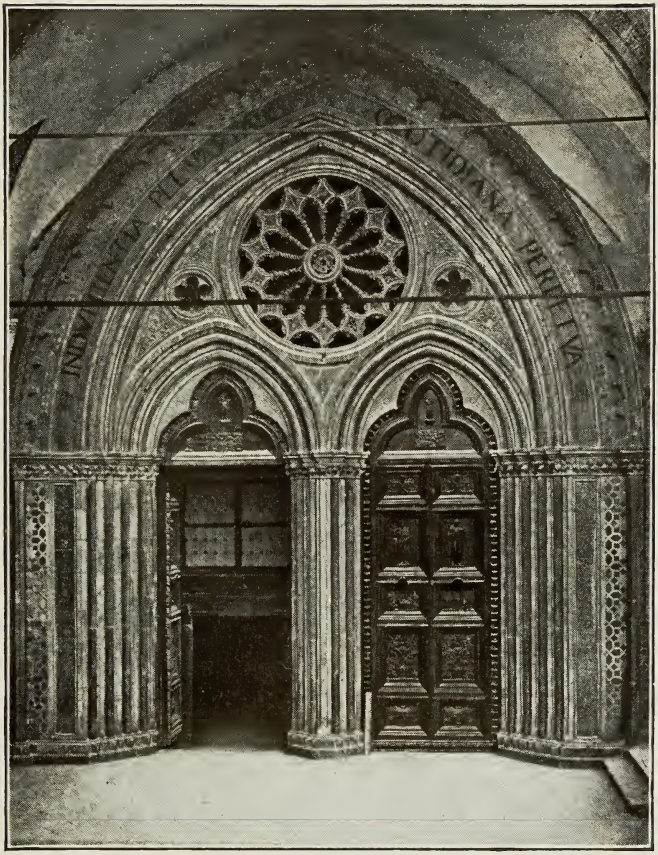
CHAPTER V

THE LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS — CONFORMITY TO THAT OF CHRIST

HIS disciples regarded the life of St. Francis as the most complete reflection that we have been permitted to know of the life which Christ led upon earth. The following instances where the parallel has been drawn may be noted; others will occur to those who keep this phase of the Franciscan ideal in mind.

1. *Above the entrance door of the lower church* the arches are filled with panels. On one is carved the Ascension of Christ with a group of disciples below, on the other there is the Ascension of St. Francis with a like group of disciples.

2. The pictures *on the nave walls of the lower church* were probably intended to point to the



ENTRANCE TO LOWER CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO

parallel between the two lives. On the right as we face the high altar there appear to be scenes from the Crucifixion, the Deposition, and the Entombment of Christ. On the left St. Francis renounces the world; is seen in a vision supporting the Church; preaches to the birds; receives the stigmata; and is buried.

3. *In the northern transept of the lower church* the Crucifixion (No. 16) has opposite to it St. Francis receiving the stigmata, the intention being to suggest the parallel between the Passion of Christ and the Passion of St. Francis on Monte della Vernia.

4. In the central group on the *roof of the upper church* Christ is painted with St. Francis opposite, and at the sides are Madonna and St. John the Baptist.

5. The lower church had originally only three altars: the high altar dedicated in the name of St. Francis, whose bones rest beneath it; that to the right, in the southern transept, dedicated in the name of Maria Virgine Immacolata, and that to the left in the name of St. John the Evangelist. If the church be considered as the cross, then the relative position of the altars suggests that St. Francis takes

the place of Christ, while Madonna and St. John the Evangelist stand at the foot of the cross as usual.

6. *Over the high altar in the lower church* Christ presides over the marriage of St. Francis with the Holy Lady Poverty. Poverty, the spouse of Christ, was widowed at His death on the cross, and now she becomes the spouse of St. Francis.

Nave of the Upper Church

The distinctively Franciscan pictures are included in the following series and in the four great frescoes over the high altar in the lower church.

The life of St. Francis, as painted in the upper church, begins with the history of the saint after his soul had been touched by the love of God, but before he had denied the world. This series of frescoes is a summing up of the intention of the whole monument. We have seen how God deals with men; we have seen the description of the life of Christ, by means of which men entered into their true relation with the divine; we have seen

how by lives of faith, of renunciation, and of love, men have striven to unite the world in the new ideal. The final result of human effort is summed up in the life of St. Francis, who was, in the words of his disciples, the Mirror of Perfection.

It must be confessed that we see "the little poor man of Assisi" dimly in the magnificence of this building. These pictures describe the outward and visible life of one of the two princes ordained for the guidance of the Church (*Par.* xi. 35-36). We seem to breathe the air of the papal court rather than that of the Umbrian valleys.

The following account is derived mainly from Bonaventura's *Life of Saint Francis.*

PLAN II (p. 78)

(a 1.) A man of simple mind meets Francis and two of his companions. The poor man having an instinctive insight into the holiness of the youth, spreads his cloak on the ground. Francis steps on it and looks at him who offers the service with a gracious air; his two companions are pleased with the honour done to

their friend, while two elder men wonder at what they regard as the presumption of a young man in accepting such a distinction. These emotions are rendered in the simplest and most natural way. The details of the figures, such as the hands and draperies, show how much had still to be learned.

The scene is laid in the Piazza Grande. The Temple of Minerva is curiously translated in terms of Gothic feeling: at one side of it is a church with pointed windows and a campanile of the usual kind, and at the other a house with a series of open balconies.

(b 2.) Francis gives his cloak to a poor nobleman. Through the love of God Francis has learned to love his neighbour. He has been touched by the world-weary and downcast air of the poor nobleman, and with courtly benevolence he gives his cloak to him.

High on the hill to the right is a church and monastery, and opposite are the towers of a little hill city. The horse from which Francis has dismounted is badly drawn, but the natural way in which it turns to graze at the wayside marks a new feeling.

(c 3.) The Vision of the Palace. The sleep-

ing Francis saw the vision of a great palace covered with banners and decorations bearing the cognizance of the cross. Christ appeared to him, and, in answer to the query as to the object of the palace, said, it is " for thee and thy warriors."

Francis understood this as a call to knightly duty, and set out to serve a great count in Apulia. On the way he had another vision, in which God spoke to him, saying, " Francis, who can make thee into the best knight — the master or the servant? " Francis replied, " The master." " Then," the Lord said, " why dost thou leave the master for the servant? " Francis answered, " What wilt thou that I should do, O my Lord? " In reply he was bidden to return to his home, and was taught the spiritual signification of the vision of the palace.

The lower part of the palace is built with pillar, lintel and round arches, the upper part is in Gothic style, representing the change which was taking place during the thirteenth century.

(d 4.) Francis, while praying in S. Damiano, hears the words come from the crucified

figure on the cross, "Go, Francis, and repair My Church." Francis kneels in a loggia opening into the building. Believing that the command was concerned with the material fabric of the church, he took some of his father's cloth and sold it at Foligno, so that he might have the means to repair S. Damiano.

(e 5.) Francis renounces his family and his earthly inheritance. His father, greatly incensed with his son, haled him before the bishop. Francis, hearing his father coming, said, "Father, I am not afraid if you beat me or imprison me; I am content to endure affliction and suffering, because I deserve it for my sins." When they appeared before the bishop, so that he might renounce his mother's inheritance as his father desired, he humbly took off all his clothes but his under-garment. He threw them to his father, and renounced every temporal inheritance, whether of father or mother, saying, "Now I can say, Pater Noster qui es in cœlis." The bishop, seeing so much warmth of spirit, took him to his arms, and covered him with the folds of his mantle. And Francis took a poor garment from one of the bishop's labourers, and so he was clothed.

St. Francis stands covered by the bishop's robe — in the attitude of prayer, which is answered by the appearance of a hand in the sky.

As the brethren grew in numbers, Francis wrote a form of living in simple words, founding it in everything on the observance of the Gospel. When the brethren desired the confirmation of this writing, and yet were afraid, Francis saw in a vision a great tree, and he was raised up so that he might touch the top. It bowed its topmost branches, and thus was shown the condescension of the Apostolic See. So Francis and the brethren went to Rome and to the Lateran to present their petition. But the Pope was busy, and they were driven away. That night the Pope saw a vision of a palm branch that grew into a mighty tree, and divine wisdom showed him that this was the poor man who had been refused. Then Francis was sought out, and brought before the Pope, and some of the cardinals doubted by reason of the strictness of the rule. One of them, however, moved by the Holy Spirit, declared it was naught more than the Gospel. Then the Pope bade Francis pray that God would

show them His will, and he so spake that the Pope knew that Christ spoke in him. That night the Pope had another vision, in which he saw the Church of St. John Lateran about to fall, and a little man came and put his back under it, whereby the Pope saw that it was this same poor man who, by teaching of holy deeds and doctrine, should sustain the Church, and therefore he gave his approbation to the rule.

This story is told in the frescoes, Nos. f 6 and g 7. St. Francis upholding the Church in f 6, is very remarkable; the figure stands out as the finest example of the new manner in the upper church. But it is g 7 which strikes the full note of the coming change in the world.

We see on the one hand the Pope, the cardinals, the bishops, the hierarchy of the Church; on the other, a group of poor men kneeling humbly, and asking for nothing but to be allowed to live by the rule of the Gospel. Such is the outward seeming, but the kneeling figure of Francis offering his simple words, is the embodiment of the spirit of individualism in opposition to the organized system of the Church. Men were no longer content to ap-

proach the truth through other men, even though they might be bishops or popes. The spirit within each man must approach the Divine Spirit for itself, and so at a later time, when sore pressed by ecclesiastical authority, St. Francis refused to accept any rule other than "that which had been mercifully shown and given" to him "by the Lord." The painter has recognized this true source of spiritual strength, inasmuch as while the great churchmen have but the insignia of their office, Francis has the nimbus of divine power.

(h 8.) St. Francis and the Car of Fire. When the brethren were living at Rivo Torto, Francis went to Assisi on a certain Saturday, so that he might preach on the next day in the Duomo. At night, when some of the brethren were asleep and others awake, they saw a car of fire, which passed three times through the house. Inspired by God, they knew that the chariot was their father Francis, and they perceived that the vision was granted to show that he was the chariot which they ought to follow as if he had been another Elias.

(j 9.) The Throne in Heaven reserved for St. Francis. St. Francis and Brother Pacifico

being in the deserted Church of St. Peter at Bovara, near Trevi, St. Francis sent the brother to the leper hospital, and he himself spent the night in the church, where he was sorely tempted. In the morning he was praying when Pacifico returned, and to this latter there was granted a vision of the thrones in heaven.

It was told him that the highest had been the place of Lucifer, and that in his stead the humble Francis should sit in it. When Brother Pacifico thereafter asked Francis of himself, he declared that he was the greatest sinner in the world, and so Pacifico saw that his vision was true, and that Francis, by reason of his humility, was worthy to sit on the throne of Lucifer (*Mirror of Perfection*, p. 60).

(k 10.) The Devils driven away from Arezzo. Francis, coming to Arezzo, found commotion and combat among the citizens, and he saw above the city a multitude of demons who were in great joy. Francis, knowing by the Spirit that they were the cause of the trouble in the city, ordered Brother Silvestro that he should command these devils in the name of God so that immediately, by virtue of obedi-

ence, they should depart. And Brother Silvestro, going with great fervour and doing obedience to the blessed Francis, the devils at once departed and the city was pacified. Francis, finding all in peace and concord, praised God that by virtue of holy humility and obedience, Brother Silvestro had chased away so great malignity of pride.

(l 11.) St. Francis before the Sultan. Francis, moved by the desire he had to shed his blood for the increase of faith, went into Syria and travelled to the country of the Sultan of Babylon. When brought before the Sultan and questioned as to his business, Francis answered, " I am sent by God the Most High, and not by any man of this world, so that I can show to thee and thy people the way of salvation and tell to thee the truth of the gospel of Christ." He preached with so much constancy of mind, strength of soul, and fervour of spirit, that the Sultan had him in great favour, and desired him to stay in the country. Francis said to the Sultan, " If thou doubt of leaving the faith of Mahomet for that of Christ, command that a fire be lit so that thy priests and I may enter it, and according to who is kept safe be-

lieve thou in that faith." The Sultan, seeing one of his priests in flight, declared that they would not enter. Francis then offered to go into it by himself; if he was saved it would be proof of the truth of the religion of Christ, and if he were burned it would be for his sins. But for fear of the people the Sultan would not consent, and so Francis, having refused all gifts, returned to Christendom.

The Sultan is magnificent, as one who stands above and beyond the rival creeds. The two Moslem priests have strong impressive faces; they are moved neither by the spiritual appeal nor the physical terror.

(m 12.) St. Francis in Communion with God. St. Francis is raised from the earth and rests on a cloud. He contemplates God face to face as Moses of old. His arms are stretched out widely as if to embrace the vision which appears in the sky and blesses him. A group of brethren below see the vision, but only with a sense of alarmed curiosity.

(n 13.) The Presepio at Greggio. In order to move the people to devotion and bring to mind the nativity of Christ, Francis ordered (after license from the Pope) that with great

solemnity they should bring a manger, with an ox and ass, into the church. Many of the brethren and good women were there, and many lights were lit, and there was much singing of holy songs. The man of God stood near the manger, full of tenderness, weeping tears of devotion and piety, and mass was celebrated. Then Francis sang the gospel and preached of the Nativity, and it was affirmed that at that point a sleeping child was seen in his arms. And the hay which was in the manger had much virtue in curing the sick.

(o 14.) The Miraculous Spring of Water. When Francis was going to spend the forty days of St. Michael on the Monte della Vernia, being weakened by watching and by strife with devils, he borrowed a small ass. While they were on the way the countryman to whom it belonged was thirsty. Francis dismounted and, kneeling down, prayed and bade the countryman to go to a certain spot, where he found water though none had been there before, nor has it been seen since. So the countryman drank, and they thanked God for the miracle. Vasari singles out this scene and says that so natural is the man who drinks

that one might believe him to be a living person.

Passing by the great western doors we come to the following:—

(p 15.) St. Francis preaching to the Birds. It is told that on the way to Bevagna he saw many birds, and he bade his companions wait while he went and preached to them. "My sister birds," said he, "you should be much bound to God, your Creator, and you should always, in every place, praise Him, for He has given you liberty to fly, and vestments double and triple, and has preserved your seed in the ark of Noah, and also He keeps you in the air, which He has made for you, and besides this He feeds you and gives you the fountains and rivers to drink from, and valleys for your refuge. And because ye do not know how to spin and sew, God clothes you, therefore keep yourselves, my sisters, from the sin of ingratitude." When Francis made the sign of the cross, the birds rose up and spread themselves to the four quarters of the world, to signify that the preaching of the cross should spread everywhere. Francis was drawing a picture of his own ideal in the free life of the birds,

GIOTTO. — ST. FRANCIS PREACHING TO THE BIRDS

devoid of care and devoted to the praise of God, and the artist seems to have been moved by the picture of natural beauty that he was set to paint.

(q 16.) The Death of the Lord of Celano. Francis and his companions having been received with joyfulness, the lord of the house was called to one side and bidden to confess and give thanks to God for all His mercies; so giving heed, he put his house in order, and made ready to receive death. Afterwards they sat down to meat, and while eating the lord of Celano passed from this life; and thus it was shown how God holds dear those who receive His servants.

(r 17.) St. Francis preaches before Honorius III. In order to please the Cardinal Ugolino, Francis made ready a sermon very diligently, but when he began to preach the thing went from him, and confessing what had happened, he prayed to the Holy Spirit, and at once there was given to him understanding, and he spoke with so much power that the Pope and cardinals were moved. It is also said that so great was his fervour of spirit that he moved his feet as one who dances — not for

amusement but as overcome by divine joy.

The Pope sits in a fine Gothic church, with detail suitable to the period. He is not the old man that Honorius really was, but a strong vigorous personality in the full exercise of powerful capacities. The churchmen listen with an air of puzzled doubt; they are fearful of what may come of this new doctrine.

(s 18.) St. Francis appears at a Chapter held at Arles. At the provincial chapters, though Francis could not be there in body, he was ever with the brethren in spirit, and even sometimes in presence. At Arles, when Anthony preached of the cross, it was given to Brother Monaldo to see Francis in the air with his arms spread out in the form of a cross.

(t 19.) St. Francis receives the Stigmata. Francis had the habit of never being idle; like the angels he was always ascending or descending, ascending in contemplation to God or descending in love to his neighbour. He divided his energies between the active and contemplative life, and so two years before he died he went to keep the fast of St. Michael on the Monte della Vernia.

On the day of the exaltation of the cross Francis saw a seraph with six shining wings descend from heaven. As he looked at it he saw between the wings the likeness of a crucified man. Then he was sealed with the sign of the wounds. Knowing that there could be no affinity between the immortality of the seraph and the infirmity of the passion, he recognized that as he had always borne Christ and His Passion in his heart and also in his deeds, so he must be transformed into Christ not through martyrdom of the flesh but by the ardour of his soul and of his mind. Thus when the vision left him he was filled with the fervour of the love of Christ, and on his body was the mark of the wounds of Christ.

(u 20.) The Death of St. Francis. Francis, knowing of the day of his death, desired to be carried down to Sta. Maria degli Angeli. Having taken off his clothes he lay down on the ground, and, with his face turned to heaven, he said, " I have done that which I had to do; may our Lord Jesus teach you so that you may be strong in His love and service." He thanked God that as Christ had been naked on the Cross so he at his end was

poor and naked. When the hour of his death had come he bade his brethren that they should observe patience and poverty and the faith of the Holy Roman Church, and, above all things, the Holy Gospel. He blessed them, saying, " To God I commend you all, that you may obey and fear Him, that you may be strong in temptation, and constant in virtue, and do what is just to your neighbours." When they had read from the Gospel and from the Psalms, that most holy soul left the body and was received into the light of eternal life.

The dead man is surrounded by his sorrowing brethren, and in the background the clergy are collected ready to perform the usual rites. In the sky there is the soul of Francis pictured as a youth borne to heaven in an aureole of light, and supported by four angels; other angels to right and left attend them. The picture is a good deal damaged, but it shows that the painter had overcome many of the technical difficulties that beset the artists of the early fourteenth century.

(v 21.) The Vision of the Bishop of Assisi and of Brother Agostino. The bishop having gone on a pilgrimage to Monte Gargano, Fran-

cis appeared to him as he slept at Beneventum, and said, " I leave the world and go to heaven with great joy." When he returned to Assisi the bishop knew that the time of his vision was the same as that at which Francis had passed from this life. At the same time a certain Brother Agostino, who had been lying waiting for death, and without power of speech, suddenly rose up crying, " Wait, father, wait. Behold, I come with thee."

(w 22.) The Verification of the Stigmata. In the upper part of the fresco are pictures resting on a beam in the church wherein the scene is laid. To the left, Madonna and Child; in the centre, a crucifix, and to the right, an angel. Below lies the body of St. Francis, the service for the dead is being read, and in the background are a number of clergy and lay people, for many came to see and be assured of the miracle of the stigmata. Among these was a noble knight full of doubt even like the Apostle Thomas. And when he had seen and moved the nails with his hand, and also the wound in the side, in the presence of many seculars and religious, they were all certain of that of which they were in doubt.

(x 23.) Sta. Chiara salutes the dead Francis as the procession passes by S. Damiano.

On the morning after Francis died a great crowd from the city and the country came, and with great solemnity of canticles and hymns, and the divine office and a multitude of torches and candles, they carried the body to Assisi. When they came to S. Damiano, Chiara and her holy sisters were consoled by seeing and kissing the holy body of their father Francis, ornamented with the holy stigmata, and clear and shining.

(y 24.) Canonization of St. Francis. Pope Gregory IX., having heard of the many miracles done by Francis throughout his life and after his death, took counsel whether to canonize the body or no. He sent certain cardinals to search out the miracles whether they were true, and they having found that these things were so, the Pope came with great solemnity to Assisi, and on the eighth day before the Kalends of June, 1228, the most holy body of the saint was canonized. This fresco is very much damaged.

(z 25.) The Doubt of Pope Gregory is resolved. Pope Gregory IX. (the Cardinal

Ugolino) having canonized St. Francis, was still in doubt about the stigmata. Whence one night there appeared to him St. Francis with a severe countenance showing anger, and he reproved Gregory for the hardness of his heart. Lifting up his arm he showed the wound, and when St. Francis had gathered the blood from it in a phial he passed out of sight. And by this the Pope had no more doubt.

(aa 26.) A certain woman greatly devoted to St. Francis died with some sin unconfessed. Suddenly, when her kinsfolk and the priest were watching, she rose up and told them that St. Francis had obtained grace for her, that the soul might return to the body until she had confessed. So it was, that after confession her body fell dead, as before, and her soul was freed from great punishment.

(bb 27.) A certain man, Giovanni, was wounded so sorely that the doctor could do nothing for him, and when there was no more hope St. Francis appeared and said, "Because of thy faith in the Virgin Mary and me, God wills that thou shouldst be freed from this evil." St. Francis touched the wounds with

the hands which bore the mark of the stigmata, and they were healed.

(cc 28.) A certain Peter having been condemned for heresy was given to the keeping of the Bishop of Tivoli. Peter having laid down every error and prayed to St. Francis, the latter appeared to him in prison. The chains fell from the prisoner's limbs, and the door was opened. When the bishop told the cardinals and the Pope what had happened, they praised God and the blessed St. Francis, and let the man go.

CHAPTER VI

S. FRANCESCO — THE LOWER CHURCH — LIFE OF CHRIST — THE FOUR ALLEGORICAL FRESCOES

PASSING now to the *transepts of the lower church*, we find the history of the life of Christ. These paintings may be regarded as an illustration of the Creed.

Dante (*Par.* vii. 79-120), writing perhaps a few years later than the time when these frescoes were painted, explains how the Incarnation was the highest manifestation of the justice and mercy of God. Man had been disfranchised by sin. In two ways it was possible that his lost dignity might be recovered. God might grant a free pardon, or man could make satisfaction. But, in the first case, justice would not have been done, for goodness would not have been made to refill that which sin had emptied. In the second, it was impossible for man to make satisfaction, inasmuch as he

could never fall so low in humility as he had striven to rise in pride. The Incarnation answers all the ends of justice, for goodness takes the place of evil. It also is the highest evidence of mercy, for in no other way could God so fully show His love as by giving Himself, so that in His person man might make satisfaction.

It was the loving self-sacrifice, the poverty, the renunciation, the suffering, and the submission to the divine will exhibited in this life, that St. Francis tried to make the rule of his own life.

PLAN VI (p. 126)

No. 1 is an Annunciation.

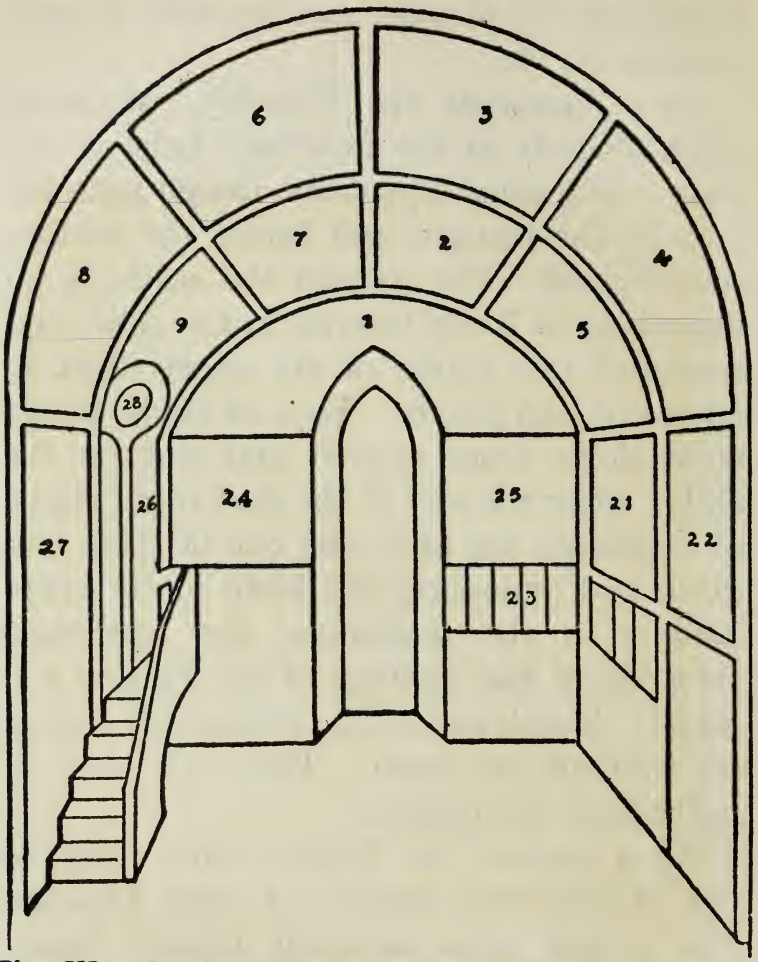
No. 2, Salutation, is a characteristic piece of early fourteenth century Florentine design. There is a fine sense of a mountain country in the background. The two women meet with a quiet joy; each knows the destiny of the other, and the deference of the older woman for the younger is rendered in simple and yet subtle fashion. The servants carrying the little necessities for the way mark the growing taste

GIOTTO. — SALUTATION

for expressing thought and emotion in term of common life.

No 3 represents the Nativity. Madonna looks tenderly at the swaddled babe in her arms. The usual Byzantine design puts the babe in the manger, and leaves the mother unconcerned. The ox and the ass have an expression of lively interest in the child, and overhead two choirs of six angels float in adoration and prayer. Rays of divine power come down from heaven and rest on the child. Over the roof of the shed other choirs of angels see the star, and one of them flies down and announces the birth to the shepherds. In the foreground the Byzantine tradition of the washing of the babe is followed. Joseph sits at the extreme left resting his head on his hand. There is a note of naturalism throughout.

No. 4 depicts the Presentation. This is one of the most famous of these frescoes. The temple is an elaborate Gothic church decorated with mosaic in the Cosmati style. Every figure in the picture, young and old, takes its part in expressing the mystery, by which the thoughts out of many hearts were



Plan VI. — Southern Transept of the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

TADDEO GADDI. — CHRIST AMONG THE DOCTORS

to be revealed, and yet no picture in Italian art is more remarkable for the simple rendering of maternal affection.

No. 5 shows the Adoration of the Magi. The mother and child sit in an open loggia; they are attended by two nimbed figures. The older of the three kings kneels and receives the blessing of the child, the other two kings look on at some distance; all three are nimbed. Their long journey is suggested by the heads of two camels which appear at one side of the picture.

No. 6, the Flight into Egypt, is a striking desert landscape. Joseph has something of the air and bearing of an ancient Roman. An angel in the sky shows the way.

No. 7. Slaughter of the Innocents. Herod, in his impassive attitude, is the strong feature of this picture. The action is extravagant and the intensity of suffering is poorly rendered.

No. 8 shows Christ among the Doctors. This is an impressive design. The child seated in the centre in calm rule draws the attention and holds it. The scene is in a Gothic church with side chapels. Joseph and

Mary enter to the left, and hold up their hands in wonder as they see their son teaching with authority among the patriarchs of the nation.

In No. 9 Christ goes with his Parents. Jerusalem is painted as a fourteenth century city. Mary and Joseph pass out into the country. Christ has become the child again; he looks up at Joseph with confidence and just touches the sleeve of his robe.

The life of Christ is continued in the Passion scenes *in the northern transept.* The frescoes are usually attributed to the Sienese school, and the name of Pietro Lorenzetti (died 1348) is connected with them.

PLAN VII (p. 132)

No. 10 shows the Entry into Jerusalem. The twelve Apostles headed by St. Peter follow Christ; they are met by the crowd at the gate of the city. Boys throw olive branches in the way.

No. 11 is the Last Supper. The meal is eaten at a circular table, and Judas cannot

therefore sit on the outer side. He is distinguished by having no nimbus.

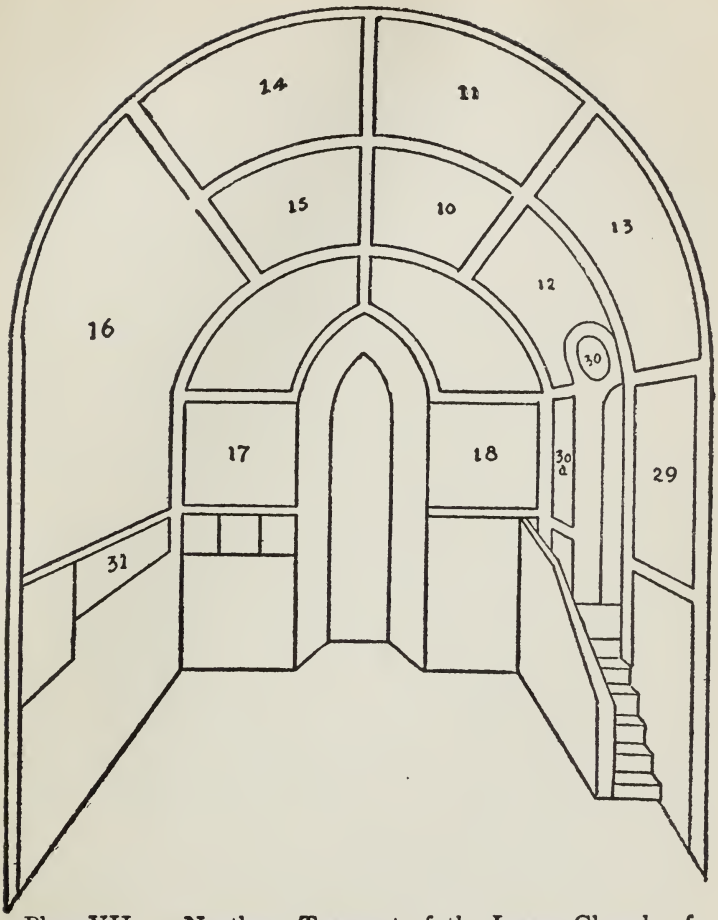
No. 12. The Washing of the Feet. St. Peter puts his hand to his head, saying, "Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head." The Apostles are not so dignified as in the scene of the entry into Jerusalem.

No. 13, the Betrayal, has not a noble figure in the whole composition. The sense of degradation could hardly be more complete than that conveyed by the flight of the Apostles. It is no band of regular soldiers, but rather a mob that enters the garden. The face of Judas has some quality in it, but that of Christ is not only unseemly, it is ignoble, and the Apostle who stands in the lower right-hand corner is of the most vulgar type.

No. 14. The Flagellation. This scene takes place before Pilate. To the right a group of Pharisees look on with a satisfied air. The central figure is miserably inadequate. There is no attempt made to render a dignified bearing under degradation and suffering, and the expression even of physical pain fails.

No. 15. Christ is led to Calvary. Again the central figure is mean and cringing. Distortion of face takes the place of a dignified expression of emotion. The two thieves walk in advance of Christ.

No. 16. An immense Crucifixion occupies one side of the transept. The fresco has been damaged, the central foreground having been cut away. The scene is treated historically and not symbolically. The figure of Christ on the cross shows an advance in power of rendering the human frame as compared with the Crucifixions in the transepts of the upper church. The countenance is strong and expressive. The two thieves are also competently rendered. There is an immense crowd of bystanders, mainly Roman soldiers; they add nothing either to the character or beauty of the picture. In the foreground, to the right, the group of women support the swooning mother, and St. John looks on in helpless misery. The scene indeed is treated as one of human suffering; even the angels who fly round the cross express bitterness and tribulation in commonplace demonstrations of sorrow, proper to trivial



Plan VII. — Northern Transept of the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

rather than to deep and significant emotion.

The new attitude towards life presents its

weaker side to us. Christ ceased to be a more or less abstract representation of the divine majesty. He was realized as the Man of Sorrows. At the same time the teaching of St. Bernard and St. Francis had quickened the emotions of men; the love of God became an active principle working on the feelings rather than on the intelligence of mankind. Hence we find a tendency to exaggerate the emotional aspect of the mysteries of man's being at the expense of the wider and deeper significance of things.

No. 17. The Deposition from the Cross. A study of human emotion which conveys no effective sense of the scene. The purely physical phenomenon has blinded the eyes of the onlookers to the underlying fact that death is about to be swallowed up in victory. The action of the one who draws out the nail from the feet is trivial.

No. 18 shows the Entombment. The same seven persons who appear in the Deposition take part in the Entombment.

No. 19, the Descent into Hades, is much damaged.

No. 20. The Resurrection. Once more

the central figure is the least satisfactory. Christ rises out of the tomb bearing the cross of victory, five angels on each side greet Him. Around the tomb lie the soldiers on guard; they are fine figures, and their sleep is rendered naturally.

Pictures in the Transepts not belonging to the Series of the Life of Christ

PLAN VI (p. 126)

No. 21. In the southern transept. This picture of the Crucifixion is symbolical; it is not intended to represent the event as it happened. There are no thieves, and on the right side of the cross St. Francis kneels with two of his brethren. St. Mary Magdalene embraces the feet of Christ. To the left Mary falls in a swoon. There is a notable group of Jews to the right of the picture. A small medallion in the frame at the top has a figure of the pelican, in reference to Ps. cii. 6. One of the popular stories about this bird was, that the young strike their father and he kills them; then the mother pierces her breast, and the blood which flows from it brings the

young birds to life again. "If this be true," says Augustine, "see how it agreeth with Him who gave us life by His blood." At the bottom of the picture is a similar little painting of the lion licking its cubs, in reference to the story that the cubs were born dead, and were brought to life after three days by the father licking them. In this, was seen a type of the Resurrection after the three days in the tomb.

No. 22, Madonna and Child with Angels and St. Francis, is a famous picture and has traditionally been assigned to Cimabue.

It represents the transition from Byzantine to Florentine ideals. The celestial powers reveal to man the Divine Child. The grand sweep of the angels' wings, the graceful inclination of their forms and the reverent graciousness of their expression strike the active note in the picture. Madonna is passive; she has lost the abstract quality of the mother of God, and has not gained the natural quality of the mother of a human child. The heavily coiled hair of the angels, the veil and robe of the Madonna, and many other details, show the effect of the Byzantine tradition.

CIMABUE. — MADONNA

The ordered magnificence of the throne, the rich hangings, and the splendour of the celestial spirits are in strange contrast to St. Francis, the humble follower of holy poverty, who stands at the right of the picture. The insignificant figure of the "little poor man of Assisi," standing apart as it does from the general design, does not at first suggest the doctors and saints of fifteenth and sixteenth century altar-pieces, and yet it may be regarded as an early example of such schemes. This picture is one of the most interesting in the whole range of Italian art. To the student of style it marks with peculiar delicacy the change of manner; to those who study the mind of the thirteenth century it is full of suggestion; to all it remains one of the most lovely creations of human genius.

No. 23 is a series of eight half-lengths. To the right are Madonna and Child, with a king on the one side and a queen on the other — probably St. Louis and St. Catherine of Alexandria. To the extreme left is St. Francis, and between these the frescoes probably represent St. John the Evangelist, Sta. Chiara,

St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and St. Louis the Archbishop. St. Louis the King was the patron of the Brothers, and St. Elizabeth of Hungary was the patroness of the Sisters of the Third Order. The work has been attributed to Simone Martini of Siena (1285?-1344). A comparison with the details of the Chapel of St. Martin will show that both series may well be the work of one man. These half-lengths are charming and peculiarly characteristic works of the Sienese school at its best, and as they are close to the scenes of the "Nativity" and "Presentation," and other Florentine works of the same period and of equally fine quality, there is an opportunity for the traveller to compare the two great branches of Tuscan art at its most interesting period.

Nos. 24 and 25 probably refer to the story of a miracle worked in the city of Suessa. A house fell and killed a boy. The people raised the body from among the ruins, and the mother, who had faith in St. Francis, began to cry, "St. Francis, I pray thee give me back my son alive, and I will cover thy altar with new cloth." And thus they remained

GIOTTO. — ST. FRANCIS RESTORING A BOY TO LIFE

till midnight, when the boy arose and " began to praise God and St. Francis."

No. 24 shows how the people recovered the body from the ruins of the fallen house. The figure of a man standing with his finger touching his chin is supposed to be a portrait of Giotto.

In No. 25 the clergy and people have gathered for the funeral. In an open loggia, in the upper part of the picture, St. Francis descends from the sky, and, taking the boy by the hand, brings him to life.

No. 26 shows St. Francis and a skeleton. This life and its accidents were to the mind of St. Francis of little importance. Death comes to all men alike — to the king, whose crowned skeleton mocks his earthly greatness, and to the common man. It becomes, therefore, a symbol of the equality of all men in the sight of God. We are in presence of the two obligations of humanity. St. Francis stands for that which ought to be the common lot, the life of holy poverty, the ideal of the perfection of Christ. Death comes as the common lot by which all may pass from the shadows of this life to the realities of the next.

No. 27. Resurrection of a Child. A mother desiring to go to church left a child, seven years of age, shut up in her house. It fell from a window and died. The mother on her return began to weep, so that a crowd was gathered. A certain Brother Rano asking the father of the child whether he believed in St. Francis, the father answered, Yes; and if he (St. Francis) would do him the grace to revive the child he would ever be his devout servant. Then the whole company began to pray, and the child rose to life.

No. 28. Over the door from the south transept into the monastery there is a fresco of Christ. To correspond with it there is a similar fresco of St. Francis (No. 30) over the door from the northern transept.

PLAN VII (p. 132)

In No. 29 St. Francis receives the stigmata. This fresco has been attributed to Giotto. Its position opposite the great Crucifixion (No. 16) suggests the parallel which has been frequently noted. Monte della Vernia in the Casentino having been given

to the brethren for a place of prayer, Francis, with the brothers Masseo, Angelo, and Leo, went from Sta. Maria degli Angeli to spend the feast of St. Michael there in the year 1224. On the mountain they dwelt under a beech-tree, and one day when Francis marvelled how the rocks were fissured, it was shown to him that they had been miraculously rent asunder at the time of Christ's Passion. He therefore perceived that it was here that the Passion was to be renewed, in his soul by love and compassion, and in his body by the marks of the holy stigmata. After this he was often visited by angels, and enjoyed much of the sweetness of holy contemplation; his body was sometimes raised from the ground and was surrounded by such splendour that his brethren could hardly see him.

On the feast of the Assumption he went by himself into a more solitary place, where Brother Leo was to bring bread and water and say matins with him. In this place he was sorely vexed by the devil, who fought much with him, but he was comforted by angels, and every morning a falcon awoke him in time for matins. Once when he was

contemplating the unmeasurable glory and joy of the blessed in the life everlasting, an angel appeared to him, and made such ravishing music that all bodily understanding ceased.

At another time Brother Leo followed Francis, and saw a light descend on his head. Francis told Leo how God had spoken to him and asked for three gifts. Then he found three balls of gold in his breast, and offering these to God, it was shown to him that they signified holy obedience, the most lofty poverty, and the most noble chastity. By the opening of the Gospel in the name of the Most Holy Trinity three times in succession at the Passion of Christ, it was further shown to Francis that as he had followed Christ in the acts of his life, so he should conform himself in the affliction and anguish of the Passion.

On the morning of the day of the Most Holy Cross Francis, turning himself to the east, prayed that he might feel in his body the pain of the Passion, and in his heart the love which moved Christ to bear so much for sinners. Then the fervour of devotion grew

in him so much that he was transformed into Jesus through love and compassion. He saw a seraph come from heaven in swift flight, with six shining wings, and he drew so near that Francis saw the likeness of a crucified man. And it was shown to him that not by martyrdom of the body, but by kindling of the spirit must he be transformed into the express likeness of Christ crucified. Then Monte della Vernia appeared as though burning with flame, and the valleys and mountains round about were lighted up so that the shepherds seeing it had great fear.

No. 30 is a picture of St. Francis over the door leading into the monastery, similar to the picture of Christ (No. 28) over the corresponding door in the southern transept.

No. 30 a. In the corresponding place to the picture of St. Francis and the skeleton in the southern transept, there is in the northern transept a picture of the Death of Judas. The contrast is suggested between the coming of death to those who with Francis follow Christ, and to those who like Judas crucify Him.

No. 31. Madonna and Child with St. John the Evangelist and St. Francis. This picture is usually attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti; it is one of the most beautiful in the church. It is purely a realization of emotion; there is hardly a trace of action either intellectual or physical beyond the gesture with which Madonna points the child to St. Francis. The emotion is of the simplest kind; the child looks up at his mother with a certainty of sympathy, the mother regards the child wistfully, her love is over-shadowed by a sense of the evil days to come. St. John the Evangelist enjoys a classical serenity just tempered by the naturalism of the time; it is a fine ideal of the disciple whom Jesus loved. St. Francis is not characterized as the joyful and simple soul that loved to beg for daily bread, and dreaded the possession even of learning — there is something of the student in the face, which suggests the Dominican rather than the Franciscan habit of mind. It is not only the emotion which is of the simplest kind, the artistic means chosen to express it are equally unaffected. All that can be gained by severity and refine-

LORENZETTI (?) — MADONNA AND CHILD

ment of drawing and colour we enjoy in this picture.

We now come to the *four great allegorical frescoes in the vaults over the high altar.* (They can be seen best in the afternoon light.)

The Ideal of St. Francis

The frescoes over *the high altar in the lower church*, representing Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, express the ideal of St. Francis. The fourth fresco of the glorification of the saint, represents the divine recognition of this ideal.

The imitation of the life of Christ, which was the aim of St. Francis, does not differ from the nominal aim of all Christians before his time and since. The distinction lies in the method of reaching it, and in the single-minded devotion with which the method was followed.

St. Francis saw in the sojourn of Christ on earth an ideal which he described as holy poverty. It is in the exercise of this, and not in formal faith and ceremonial observance, that the true relations of life become clear.

When it is no longer possible to covet, when life ceases to be a struggle for material prosperity, and when preëminence means the most absolute humility, it becomes natural that love should grow between man and man.

The ideal of holy poverty implies more than a scheme of living without ownership of property. It is an ideal in which a man gives up not only lands and houses, he must also make the sacrifice of all material desires. More than that, he must give up the exercise of his intellect and his will, in the sense that they ought to be used only in submission to the will of another.

Spiritual freedom is gained when that which we have is " prepared by Divine Providence, as is manifest in the bread received in alms," when we have divested the mind of all material desires by the exercise of holy chastity, and when we have submitted the intellect and the will to the guidance of another in holy obedience.

When body and soul alike have been emptied of self, then may be reached that state of contemplation which is the mediæval ideal of beatitude. In this condition man can per-

GIOTTO. — ALLEGORY OF POVERTY

ceive something of the truth regarding the divine attributes, and from this there proceeds the love of God. He can also perceive the divine order in creation, so that all nature is included in the love of one who has reached the power of contemplation through the exercise of holy poverty.

PLAN VIII (p. 149)

No. 32 represents the Mystical Marriage of St. Francis with the Holy Lady Poverty, she who when "Mary stayed below, mounted the cross with Christ" (Wicksteed's translation, *Par.* xi. 71-72). The scene is laid on a bare rock. Christ stands between the pair holding the arm of Poverty, while St. Francis puts a ring on her finger; to the left of Poverty stand Hope and Charity.

On a ledge of the rock below are two undersized figures; the one casts a stone at Poverty, the other points with a stick, and a dog barks — for to her, as to Death, no one opens the gate willingly (*Par.* xi. 59-60).

At the lower corners of the picture are groups showing how men make right and

wrong judgments as to what is the real good. To the spectator's left a youth, moved by charity, gives his robe to a beggar. To the right there is a group of three men; one has nothing to indicate his tendency, the others have chosen the gathering of wealth and the pleasure of the senses as their aim. On each side of the central figures are groups of angels, and in the apex the Father Eternal looks down on the scene.

Mr. Ruskin says that the thorns which are gathered round the feet of Lady Poverty are those of the acacia, from which the crown of thorns was made. The roses and the lilies which spring up behind her are symbols of love and purity. Charity has a garland of flowers, and the warmth of her love is figured by the flames which encircle her head. She has a circular nimbus, like Christ, the angels, and St. Francis, while Poverty and Hope have each a hexagonal nimbus. The circle was considered a more perfect form than the square or the hexagonal. The square nimbus was usually reserved for living persons — the hexagonal for the virtues, while the circular nimbus was the figure of the eternal and ever-

lasting condition. Charity has the circular form, as it is the universal passion, neither Creator nor creature was ever without it (*Purg.* xvii. 91), and the principle of love " tends to God as the principle of happiness " (Gardner, *Ten Heavens*, p. 183).

Two angels rise up towards heaven; the one bears a church with a walled garden. This fair building, with its garden full of fresh green and beautiful foliage, is a figure of the new vigour and force in the Church, springing from the freedom of spirit gained by putting away the hindrances which choke the true life of the soul. The other angel offers up a purse and a garment, probably to signify that the things which have been received from the goodness of God should be offered in His service.

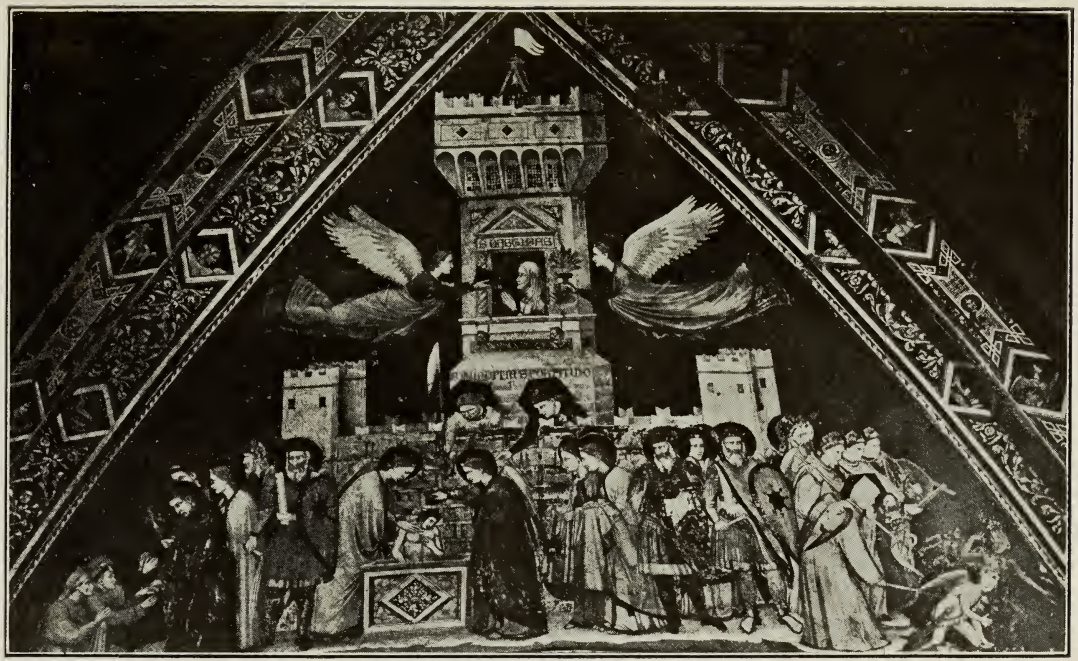
The scene in which the young Francis renounced his family and his heritage, and gave up even the clothes he wore, here receives its mystical interpretation. When the brethren asked him what virtue made a man most the friend of Christ, he answered: " Know, brothers, that poverty is the special way for salvation, because she is humility and the

root of perfection. . . . And if any man wishes to ascend to the height of perfection he must renounce worldly wisdom and knowledge of letters, that is to say, if he is to get gain of it. For if he is freed from all such worldly powers and possessions he may enter into the power of God, and offer himself naked to the arms of Christ. It cannot be said that a man has renounced all, if he has reserved something of his own prudence or understanding."

No. 33. Holy Chastity is personified by a young woman who is seen in prayer in the tower of a strong castle. The building is on a bare rock, and is surrounded by walls and towers in the usual fashion.

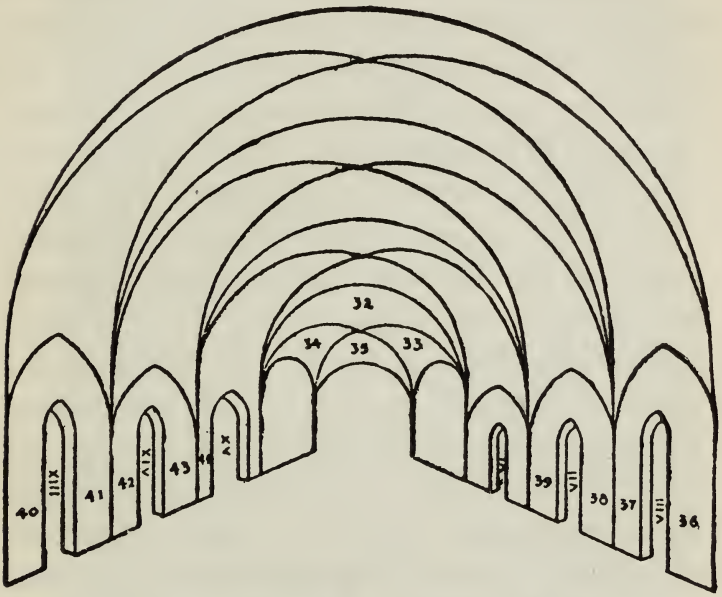
Two angels float round about the tower, and offer a palm and a crown to Chastity.

The central scene outside the castle walls is the purification by baptism of a young man; an angel lays a hand on his head, and another pours water over it. To the right two angels hold clothing ready for him, probably the habit of the order. Purity and Fortitude lean over the castle wall, the one with a banner and the other with a shield, so



GIOTTO. — ALLEGORY OF CHASTITY

that the newly baptized one may be made ready to join the soldiery of the heavenly kingdom. The outward purification of the



Plan VIII — Nave of the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

body by water is the symbol of that inward purification of the soul which springs from the renunciation implied in the Franciscan ideal of poverty. When pride of intellect, self-assertion, ambition, avarice, and love of

luxury have been driven out by the love of holy poverty then is there true purification alike of body and soul.

Returning to the picture, three figures on the left eagerly climb the rocky slope, and stretch upwards towards St. Francis; he takes the hand of one of them, who is a monk. An angel holds out a cross, and a nun reaches towards it to clasp it in her hand. The monk and nun have been called Bernard of Quintevalle and Sta. Chiara; the layman is supposed to represent the third order. On the other side of the fresco there is a contest with the vices. "Amor" and two other personifications of disorder are being forced over the edge of the rock. A cowled and winged figure of Penitence lays her lash on the back of "Amor," and an angel thrusts at him with a spear. Another angel with cross and shield stands in an attitude of defence. Death as a skeleton forces an evil spirit down into the abyss.

Another important element of the picture is the placing of guardians on each of the three sides of the castle. They have circular nimbuses and wings. Those that can be fully

GIOTTO. — ALLEGORY OF OBEDIENCE

seen in the front have shields, and two of them bear scourges — they are the ministers of Penitence and defenders of the castle of Chastity. They are also doubtless ministers of God, the swords and shields suggesting that they belong to the order of the principalities.

A certain brother on one occasion said to Brother Egidio, " You who so commend the virtue of chastity, tell me what it is." " Brother," answered Egidio, " I tell thee, that properly, chastity is the anxious custodian and continual guardian of the corporal and spiritual senses, preserving them pure and immaculate for God alone."

Holy Obedience is the subject of the fresco No. 34. The sanction for this quality is found in the crucified Christ, partially visible behind the figure of Obedience. Man is subject to various temptations on his way towards the true goal of life. The pleasure in riches and other material well-being, and the pleasure in the beauty and capacity of the body, may both be subdued and yet man is not free from danger.

Unless the will is brought into subjection,

there can be no right rule of life, for it is by the will (that is, by the union of desire and reason) that the use of our capacities is regulated. Hence, if they are to be turned to the best purpose, man must be stript of his self-will so that temptation may be put away from him.

This submission of the will is represented by Holy Obedience, who sits in the centre of the picture, laying her hand upon the yoke, which a monk who kneels before her holds in his hands. She lays a finger on her mouth to forbid speech, for in silence we may best study that which is in the heart. To the left sits Prudence with two faces, one old, the other young, a figure of the memory of things past, and an understanding of things present, from which springs a foresight of that which is to come. Prudence is the quality which leads a man to a "right estimate of the best interests of life."

In order that this power of estimating may be gained, there must be experience and a broad outlook over life regarded as a whole. Hence Prudence holds a looking-glass, in which the kneeling monk, when he turns his

head, may see reflected therein the past and present, as it were, so that he may guide himself aright in the future.

The compasses she holds symbolize the measure in all things by which a man exercises moderation and attains to calmness of soul.

Besides the looking-glass and the compasses, Prudence has an astronomical instrument, explaining the method of the ruling of the heavens, used here as a symbol of the ruling which Prudence exercises in the life of man.

Opposite to Prudence, and to the right of Obedience, is seated Humility. This is the quality which most easily opens the mind to the influence of celestial as opposed to terrestrial things. It is the most efficient means of putting aside all that which hinders the spiritual life. In the exercise of it, man makes free progress towards the divine. Humility is a state implying an absence of all presumption, and in this simplicity, virtue gives a clear and bright light, which is symbolized by the candle she has in her hand.

He who by prudence forms a true concep-

tion of the right aim in life, and who through humility is saved from the temptations which beset the soul, is fitted to submit his will to the yoke of subjection. If he is moved to bear the yoke by the spirit of charity then he will rise to heaven by holy obedience — this is signified by the wings which she bears.

Below the figure of Prudence two novices are led towards Holy Obedience by an angel. On the other side, below Humility, is a centaur; he has the body of a man, the fore-feet of a horse, and the hind feet of a beast of prey. This creature of mixed nature is significant of the man in whom reason no longer holds sway over the lower nature. An angel points to Holy Obedience as a means of reconciliation, only to produce disgust and aversion in a being so disordered and misruled.

Obedience, Prudence, and Humility sit in an open loggia; at each side there is a company of kneeling angels, and above we see St. Francis attended by two kneeling angels. He is drawn up to heaven by cords; he has in his left hand a cross, and the marks of the stigmata are shown.

GIOTTO. — GLORIFICATION OF ST. FRANCIS

No. 35. The Glory of St. Francis. A certain brother, when travelling with St. Francis, had a vision of a throne set in heaven, and he heard a voice saying, " This seat was Lucifer's who fell through pride, and now it is kept for the humble Francis." The saint sits with a cross in his right hand, and in his left, a book. Over his head is a banner with a cross, and an angel of the order of seraphim, who " see more of the First Cause than any other angelic nature."

Round about the throne of St. Francis is a company of angels dancing, singing, and making music. Like the spirits that Dante sees in the heaven of the sun, they seem " as ladies not from the dance released, but pausing, silent, listening, till they catch the notes renewed " (Wicksteed's translation, *Par.* x. 79-81). Then again, " the glorious wheel " revolves, and renders " voice to voice in harmony and sweetness that may not be known except where joy maketh itself eternal " (Wicksteed's translation, *Par.* x. 145-148).

Life in its most complete form exists in God, who, while He is Himself unmoved, is

the source from whence all motion proceeds. Motion is therefore an expression of the life which man receives from God, and since this life partakes of the nature of God, it finds its most complete development in the desire of the individual to return to its source. This desire is an expression of love, and as its object is to return to God, it is the love of God.

Hence the revolving of the heavens of the angels round the point from which springs life (*Par.* xxviii. 16), the circling of the souls which Dante sees, and the dancing of the angels round the throne of St. Francis is nothing else than an expression of the bond which unites all created things in their love of the Creator. It is in this circuit of motion of life, and of love, that the soul gains strength to perceive the final vision of the "Eternal Light who only in Itself abides, only Itself understands, and to Itself turns love and smiling" (Wicksteed's translation, *Par.* xxxiii. 124-126).

This vision of the eternal is realized in the painting upon the ribs of the vaulting. In the centre, where the ribs join, is the figure

of the Almighty, and gathered round in circle after circle are figures illustrative of the apocalyptic vision in parts of the Revelations, chapters iv. and vi. In the *first circle* there may still be seen the lamb and the altar. In the *second circle* (following from rib to rib) are the four living things having the likenesses of a lion, a calf, the face of a man, and an eagle. In the *third circle* are the four riders on the white, the red, the black, and the pale horses. There are also the lamps which signify the Seven Spirits of God.

The angelic host is indicated by figures symbolizing the orders of the heavenly hierarchy. Seraphim are nearest the centre, cherubim, with two faces, come next; then there are figures of the order of thrones, and other angels, with symbols difficult to recognize, but probably representing the rest of the nine orders. There are also figures representing the four and twenty elders. Although it is now difficult to make a satisfactory identification of the individual members of the whole scheme, there can be little doubt that it is intended

to represent the vision which was seen by the hundred and forty and four thousand servants of God, who were sealed in their foreheads.

This vision of the glory of God is the consummation of the whole scheme of the transepts of the lower church. The life of Christ is the example which a man ought to set before him. He who lives under the rule of holy poverty, holy obedience, and holy chastity is following in the footsteps of Christ. To such an one will it be given, as it was to St. Francis, to be raised up to enjoy the enlightenment of the everlasting kingdom and to perceive "the dispensation of the mystery which from all ages hath been hid in God."

Frescoes in the Nave of the Lower Church

On the walls of the nave of the lower church there are remains of frescoes now hardly distinguishable. On the right wall there are scenes from the Passion of Christ, and on the left scenes from the life of St. Francis.

On the Right Wall

PLAN VIII (p. 149)

Nos. 36 and 37 have probably formed parts of a Crucifixion; to the left it is possible to distinguish Madonna and St. John the Evangelist.

No. 38. Deposition from the Cross.

No. 39. Entombment. Christ lies upon the rock, women are gathered about the body.

On the Left Wall

No. 40. Francis renounces the world.

No. 41. The Pope sees the vision of a poor man supporting the Church of the Lateran.

No. 42. Francis preaches to the birds.

No. 43. Francis receives the stigmata.

No. 44. Death of Francis (close to the pulpit).

No. 45. Coronation of the Virgin, on the wall at the back of the pulpit. A beautiful fresco in the Florentine manner. Christ and His mother are seated on a throne together, they turn towards each other, and

Madonna, who is clothed in white and has a white veil over her head, folds her arms in loving adoration and receives the crown from Christ. At each side of the throne nimbed saints and angels look on with eager joy.

No. 46 represents a scene from the life of St. Stanislas, Bishop of Cracow. This bishop was canonized in the church by Innocent IV. in 1253. King Boleslas having seized a piece of land belonging to the Church, the bishop raised a man from the dead to give testimony to its proper ownership.

In No. 47, Bishop Stanislas having censured the disorders of the king's actions, he is murdered by order of the king while at the altar on the 7th May, 1079.

No. 48. Remains of a picture of the Crucifixion.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHAPELS OF S. FRANCESCO

THE chapels of the lower church have been covered with paintings setting forth the acts of St. Mary Magdalene, St. Stephen, St. Lawrence, St. Catherine, St. Nicholas, and St. Martin, all of them examples of the Franciscan virtues.

The mediæval history of St. Mary Magdalene is confused with that of Mary the sister of Lazarus, and with various legends. She remains, however, the great example of the efficacy of contrition, confession, and penance.

St. Stephen was probably honoured, not only as the first martyr, but as one of the first deacons, to whom the care of the poor was confided by the early Church.

St. Lawrence, also a deacon, gave all the

treasure that had fallen into the hands of the Church to the poor, whom he sought out night and day. When the treasure was demanded of him, he presented the poor people, saying, "These be the eternal treasure; the hands of these have borne the treasure to heaven."

St. Catherine of Alexandria, though she was born queen of her country and was instructed in all liberal arts, despised the things of this life and gave herself wholly to the Lord Jesus Christ, and so she was mystically united in marriage to Him, even as St. Francis was united to Holy Poverty.

St. Nicholas, according to legend, fasted even as an infant, and when he inherited his father's wealth he gave it away.

St. Martin, as a youth, renounced the world, and even before he left the service of the emperor his charity moved him to share his cloak with a beggar. He renounced not only the world but all its allurements, so that when straw was laid for his bed he threw it away and slept on the ground.

These men and women were moved by a humility that knew no shame except in the

presence of a humility deeper than their own; by a love of their neighbours without any limit, especially for the poor and the sick; by a love of God that made submission to His will the highest joy.

Frescoes in the chapel of St. Martin

PLAN IX (p. 166)

In No. 49 Martin divides his cloak with a beggar. When riding out of Amiens in winter time, Martin met a poor naked man to whom no one gave heed. He drew his sword, cut his mantle, and gave half of it to the beggar.

In No. 50 Martin lies asleep; he sees in a vision Jesus Christ wearing the mantle he had given to the poor man. Angels surround Christ, who points to the sleeper; they have large dull faces with narrow eyes, and hair arranged in heavy coils, characteristic of the Sienese school.

No. 51 shows Martin girt with the sword and spurs of knighthood. The young soldier, his hands clasped in prayer, looks up with an ecstatic air regardless of his surroundings.

The emperor, who binds on the sword, looks at him with alarm, uncertain what such a temper may mean. To the right of the picture a commonplace and rather grotesque group celebrate the occasion with music.

No. 52. St. Martin refuses the emperor's gift. The emperor gives money to the knights who fought against the barbarians, and in the background an armed soldier receives his share. In the foreground St. Martin refuses to accept the gift. The emperor, seated with ball and sceptre and wearing a garland, looks at the saint with an air of offence, and with the cunning amazement natural to the worldly mind when it suddenly finds itself in the presence of the spiritual life. Martin holds a cross and looks over his shoulder at the emperor; his figure is a marvel of detailed realization, but the shade of disdain which passes across his features fails to strike the true note. The soldier who stands at the side of the principal figure has something of the same fantastic character as the man with the double flute in the last fresco.

MARTINI. — ST. MARTIN BEFORE THE EMPEROR

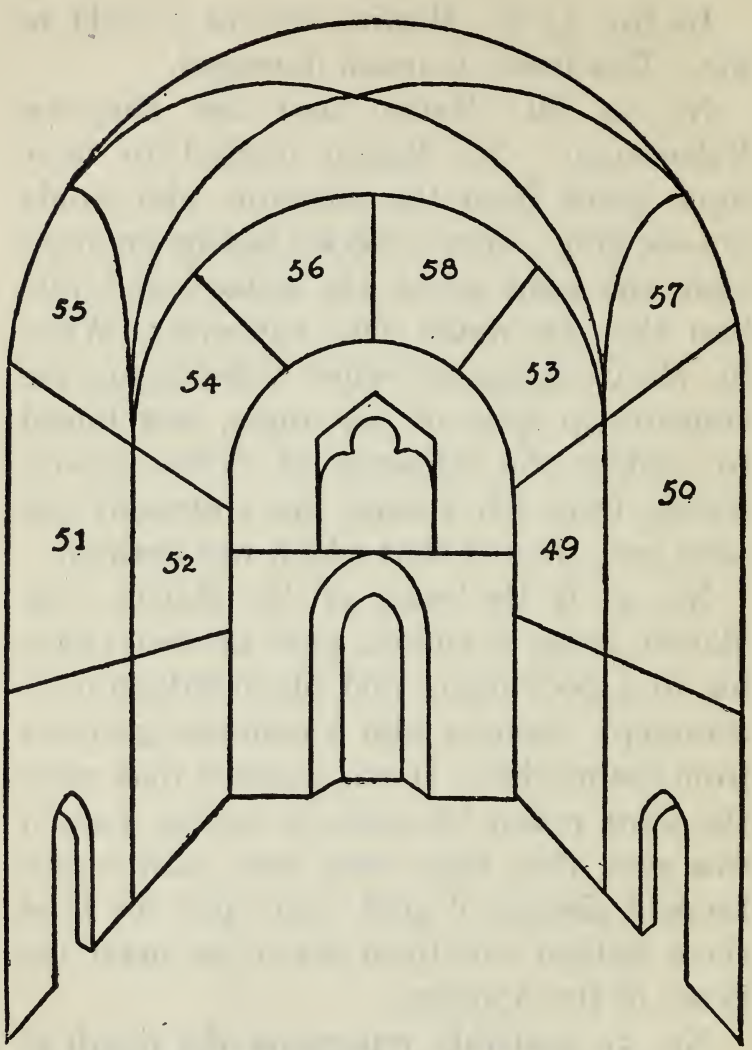
In No. 53 St. Martin restores a child to life. This fresco is much damaged.

No. 54. St. Martin and the Emperor Valentinian. St. Martin desired to have some grant from the emperor, who would not see him. After a week's fasting an angel bade the saint go to the palace, and told him that he would find entrance. When St. Martin appeared before Valentinian, the emperor, in spite of his anger, was forced to confess the influence of divine power. Rising from his throne, he embraced the saint and granted that which was desired.

No. 55 is the mass of St. Martin. St. Martin, going to church, gave his own clothing to a poor man; and his archdeacon, in contempt, brought him a common garment from the market. It was so short that when the saint raised his arms in saying mass it was seen that they were bare, and angels brought sleeves of gold, and upon his head there lighted fire from above as upon the heads of the Apostles.

No. 56 probably represents the death of St. Martin.

No. 57 probably refers to the revelation



Plan IX. — Chapel of St. Martin, Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

of the death of St. Martin made to St. Ambrose. St. Ambrose, whilst saying mass, fell asleep between the lesson of the prophecy and the Epistle. After waiting for three hours for leave to read the Epistle, his clergy awoke him, and he told them that he had been at the burial of St. Martin, and that in disturbing him they had prevented him making an end of the prayers.

No. 58 is probably the funeral of St. Martin.

The chapel was built by the Franciscan Cardinal Gentile da Montefiore. *Over the entrance* there is a picture of St. Martin raising the kneeling cardinal. On the under surface of *the entrance archway* there are painted SS. Francis and Anthony, SS. Catherine and Mary Magdalene, SS. Louis the King and Louis the Archbishop, and SS. Chiara and Elizabeth. These are all in the Sienese manner.

There are six lights in the window. The central subjects are Christ and Madonna; perhaps Martin as a warrior and St. Peter; St. Martin as a bishop and Cardinal Gentile. In the lights to the left there are, SS. Gregory

and Martin; SS. Francis and Nicholas; a bishop and St. Stephen. In the lights to the right, SS. Jerome and Paul; a civilian with a palm (?) and a bishop; and SS. Anthony of Padua and Lorenzo.

The frescoes in this chapel show able characterization. The emperor, his soldiers, the camp followers, the eager spirit of the young saint, the severe gravity of the elderly bishops, are all well rendered; but the individual figures are not fused into dramatic representations. There is a marvellous care in detail and a keen sense of decorative effect and refinement.

The following frescoes form a representation of Sienese art in S. Francesco: No. 23 in the southern transept, Nos. 10 to 20 — the Passion scenes — in the northern transept, No. 31 also in that transept, and Nos. 49 to 58 in the Chapel of St. Martin. Hardly anywhere else except in Siena or S. Gimignano can a collection of Sienese art be seen on the same grand scale, and not even in these places is there the same opportunity of comparing the Sienese and Florentine schools.

Chapel of St. Nicholas

Chapel of St. Nicholas, or the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, at the end of the southern transept. This chapel is the burial-place of Napoleone Orsini (cardinal, 1288–1342?) and Giovanni Orsini (cardinal, 1316–1355). They both died in Avignon. The tomb of Napoleone is still to be seen. The frescoes are gay and harmonious in colour, and the stories are told in a simple, straightforward way; but there is a want of power, suggesting the hand of some follower of Giotto who was not fully inspired by the new style.

PLAN X (p. 171)

No. 59 is a series of Apostles; ten only now remain.

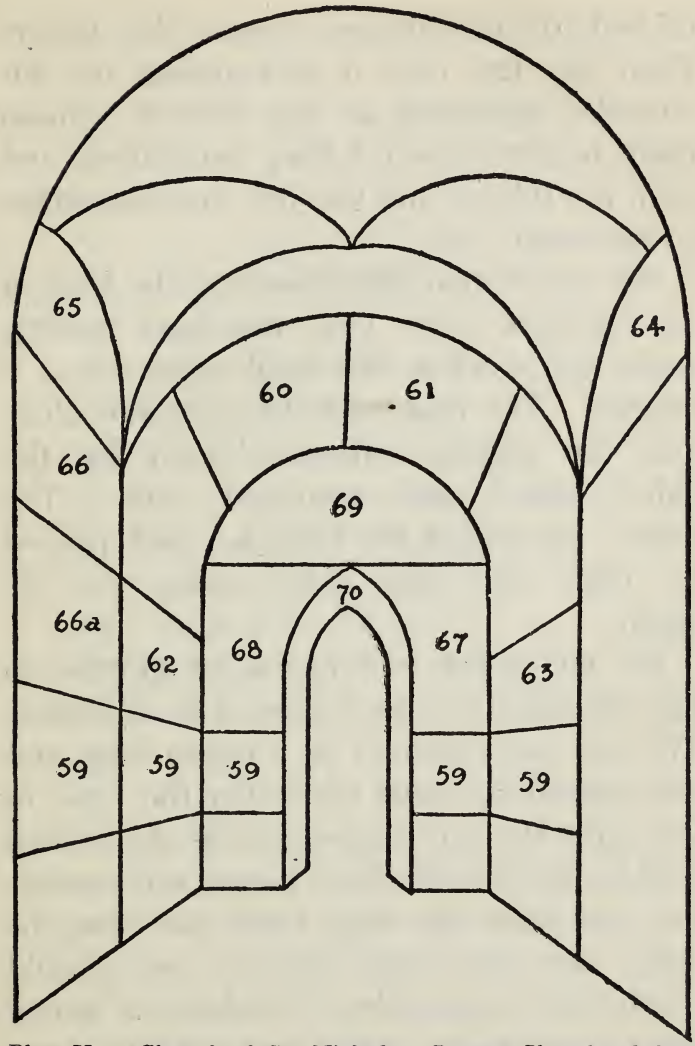
No. 60. St. Nicholas, desiring to give away the riches left by his father, and hearing that a nobleman, unable to give marriage portions to his daughters, was about to abandon them to an evil life, went by night and threw gold into the house, so that there was a portion for each.

No. 61. St. Nicholas, finding that a consul had corruptly condemned three youths to death, took with him three princes of the emperor, who happened to have been driven into port by the wind, and seizing the sword with which the executioner was about to kill the youths, he unbound them and took them away in safety.

No. 62. St. Nicholas having reproved the consul for his corrupt judgment, forgives him at the entreaty of the three princes. This is one of the best of the series.

No. 63. The three princes having fallen out of favour with the emperor they are imprisoned, and one of them remembering St. Nicholas, they all prayed to him. In the night the saint appeared to the Emperor Constantine, causing him so much fear that he examined the prisoners. When they had told him of the life of St. Nicholas he bade them to ask for the prayers of the saint for himself and his country, and set them free.

No. 64. A Jew hearing of the power of St. Nicholas set up his image and gave his goods to the keeping of the saint. He was



Plan X. — Chapel of St. Nicholas, Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

robbed of everything except the image. Then the Jew beat it and abused it. St. Nicholas appearing to the thieves, caused them to restore what they had taken, and both the thieves and the Jew were converted to the truth.

No. 65. A man who observed the feast of St. Nicholas every year was busy making ready for it when the devil appeared as a pilgrim. The man bade his son give alms, and the pilgrim, when followed by the child, seized and strangled him. The father upbraided St. Nicholas and prayed to him, and the child came to life again.

No. 66. A rich man had a son granted to him through the intercession of St. Nicholas. The boy was captured by a pagan king, and was caused to serve him. On the feast of the saint the boy, remembering the annual celebration in his father's house, was sorrowful, and when the king knew the cause he defied the saint, and said the boy should continue to serve him. Suddenly a strong wind carried the child, and set him down at his father's house.

In No. 66a the parents of the child receive him with great joy.

No. 67 is St. John the Baptist.

No. 68 is probably St. Mary Magdalene.

No. 69. A figure of Christ to whom St. Francis and St. Nicholas present the two Orsini cardinals.

No. 70. On the *under surface of the entrance arch* there are twelve saints: —

SS. Rufinus and Nicholas.

SS. Francis and Anthony of Padua.

SS. Sabinus and Victorinus.

SS. George and Adrianus.

SS. Chiara and a Queen.

SS. Agnes and perhaps Elizabeth.

There are three windows with two lights each.

To the left — SS. Vincentius and Francis, SS. Agostinus and Adrianus (?), SS. Victorinus and Rufinus. In the centre — Christ and St. Francis, SS. Gregory (?) and Nicholas. To the right — SS. Stephen and Lorenzo, SS. Francis and Anthony, SS. Jerome and Gregory.

The Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene

The frescoes in this chapel are among the best in the lower church; they are worthy of the most careful study, and they should be compared with other examples of the best Florentine fourteenth century painting. The frescoes are concerned with the mediæval account of the life of St. Mary Magdalene.

On the roof of the chapel: —

PLAN XI (p. 176)

Nos. 71, 72, 73 and 74 represent respectively Christ, Lazarus, Martha and Mary.

No. 75 shows Christ in the house of the Pharisee. Mary Magdalene anoints the feet of Christ. Christ and two disciples sit at table with the Pharisee and a guest. The contrast between the dignified Christ and the resentful air of the Jews is striking.

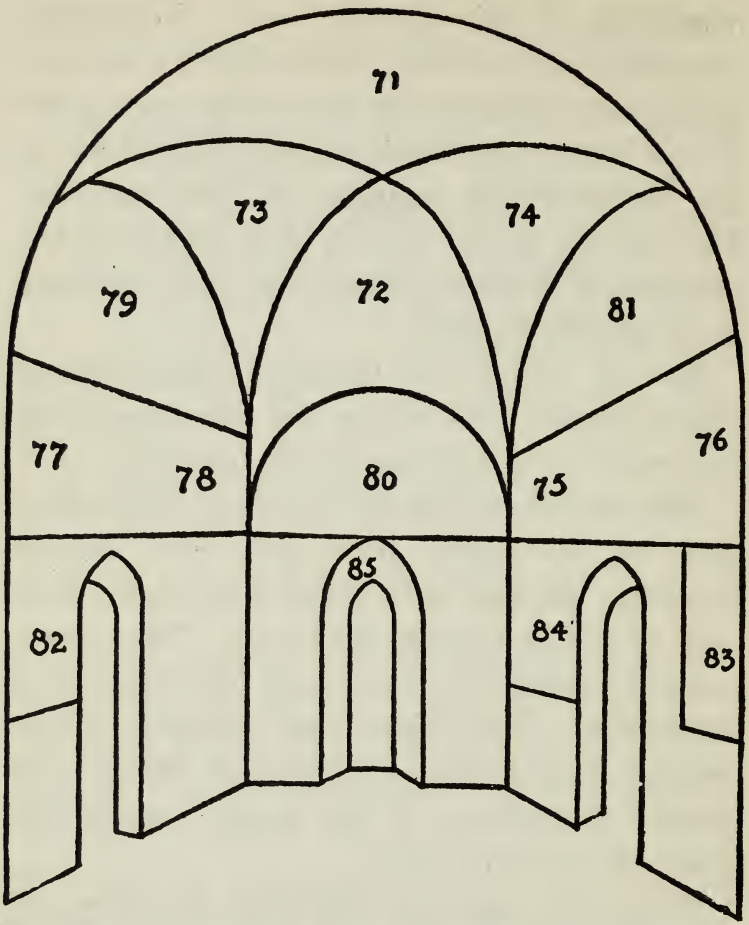
No. 76 depicts the raising of Lazarus. This is one of the great pictures in early Tuscan art. It is an instance of how the best Florentines could deal with the deepest

mysteries of life in the most impressive manner, and yet bring them within the range of average mankind by the subtle perception of the human element, which lies hidden in the impenetrable enigma of the universe. The painter makes us feel that we are in the presence of infinite power, and that we share in its manifestation.

No. 77. Noli me tangere. Mary kneels before Christ; she obeys the command, but she reaches forward in loving anxiety.

The mediæval life of St. Mary Magdalene goes on to relate how she, her brother Lazarus, Martha, and other Christians were sent to sea in a rudderless boat. They were, however, guided by God, and they landed at Marseilles. The prince and princess of the country heard the preaching of Mary, and offered to believe, if she would obtain the grace of a son for them.

They set out to Palestine to learn of St. Peter. On the way the child was born, and the princess died. The child was laid beside her on a rocky island, and the prince went on to Jerusalem, and was taught by St. Peter for two years. On his return they



Plan XI. — Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

found the child alive, and the princess also revived.

In fresco No. 78 two angels guide the boat

towards Marseilles, and there is also an indication of the return of the ship with the prince from Palestine.

No. 79. St. Mary Magdalene, in order to enjoy holy contemplation, retired to the desert, and dwelt in a cave for thirty years. Angels raised her up daily into the air, and she was fed with celestial food.

No. 80. A priest who had also become a hermit saw this, and when he was permitted to speak with her she bade him warn St. Maximin that she was coming to receive communion before her death.

No. 81. St. Mary Magdalene receives the communion from St. Maximin. The saint kneels before the bishop, who stands at the altar. She died where she knelt, and her soul went up to the Lord borne by four angels. This vision of the translation is particularly fine.

No. 82. Bishop Pontano kisses the hand of St. Mary Magdalene.

No. 83 is St. Martha.

In No. 84 Bishop Pontano kneels before S. Rufino. The figures on the under surface of the entrance to the chapel can hardly be

distinguished. At the top of the arch there is what seems to be a figure of Christ in the form of the Sun of Righteousness. There are also SS. Matthew and Peter, and probably St. Paul, St. Paul the Hermit, and St. Anthony the Abbot. The women saints have been supposed to be SS. Catherine and Agatha, and SS. Agnes, and perhaps Rosa.

There are four lights in the window. To the left are Christ, St. Mary Magdalene, and two other doubtful figures (No. 1).

No. 2 represents Madonna and Child; St. Mary Magdalene in prayer; St. Mary Magdalene receiving a garment from an angel (?); St. Mary Magdalene receiving the Sacrament (?).

No. 3. Noli me tangere, Christ and St. Mary Magdalene, and two other doubtful subjects.

No. 4 shows Christ in the house of the Pharisee; the Raising of Lazarus; Martha and Mary kneeling before Christ; St. Mary Magdalene anointing the feet of Christ.

Chapel of St. Anthony of Padua

The frescoes in this chapel are attributed to Sermei (1610). They are of no interest

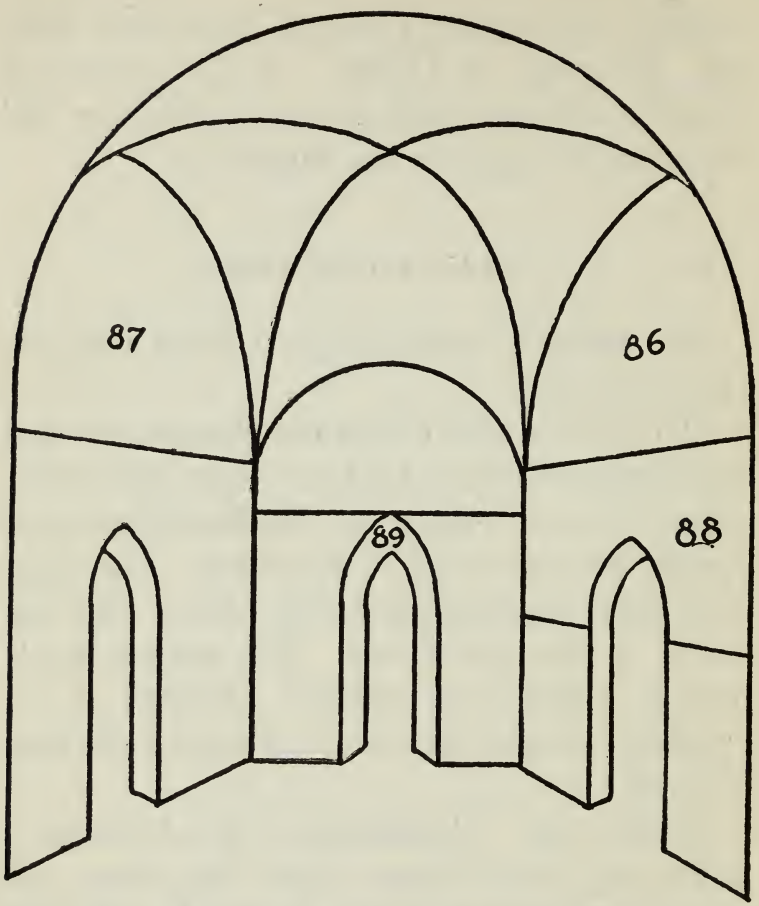
except as relating miracles connected with St. Anthony of Padua. If the spectator stands with his back to the window he will have to his right in the lunette: —

PLAN XII (p. 180)

St. Anthony preaching to Pope Gregory IX. (No. 86).

To the left (No. 87), is the Miracle, worked in Rimini in order that a certain Bovidilla, who did not believe in the Real Presence, might be convinced of its power. Carrying the Host in procession the saints met the mule of the unbeliever. The animal knelt down, though its master tempted it to neglect the presence of the Host by offering it food.

Below the "Preaching of St. Anthony" and near the window (No. 88) there are some remains of pictures, probably referring to the story of how the father of St. Anthony, who lived in Lisbon, was falsely accused of a murder. The saint was in Italy, but in answer to prayer he appeared before the judges and caused the body of the dead man



Plan XII.—Chapel of St. Anthony in the Lower Chapel of San Francesco, Assisi

to give evidence, so that his father was cleared of suspicion.

The scenes in the window relate to the

history of the saint. In one of the lights there is a picture of him preaching to the fishes. On the under surface of the entrance arch are the disciples of St. Francis (No. 89).

Chapel of St. Louis the King or of St. Stephen

The frescoes on the walls of this chapel are attributed to Dono Doni. They are of no interest. The frescoes on the roof have been attributed to L'Ingegno.

PLAN XIII (p. 182)

No. 94. The Condemnation of St. Stephen.

No. 95. St. Stephen led away to be stoned.

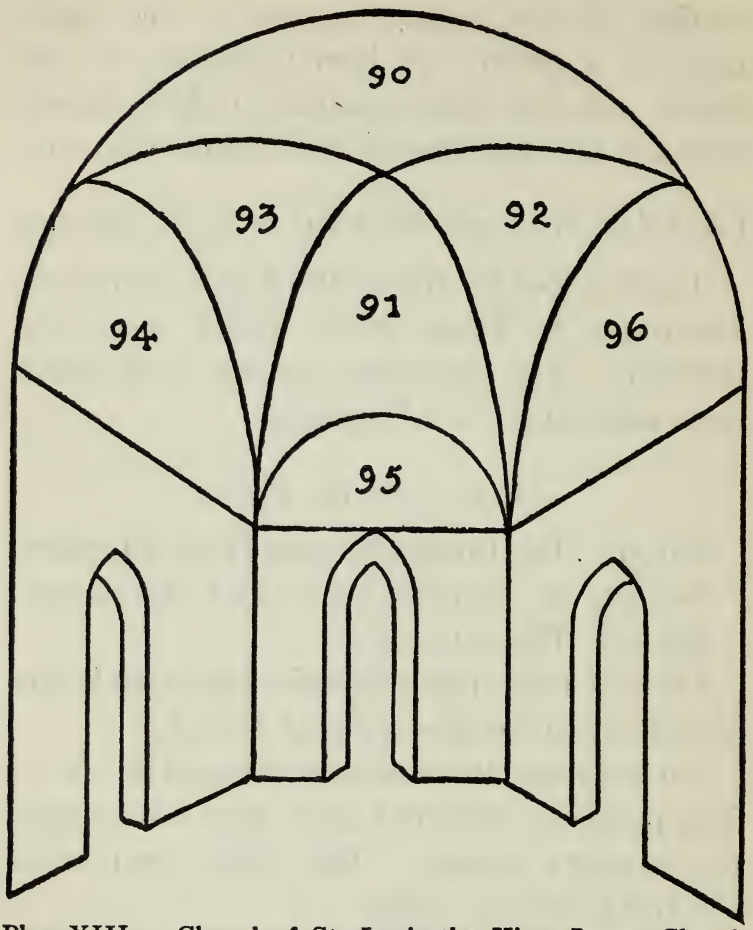
No. 96. The Stoning.

On the roof, the prophets and sibyls are associated in prophesying of Christ.

No 90 (*over the window*). Daniel ix. 24. — The prophecy referred to is that concerning the seventy weeks. The sibyl prophesies the birth from a virgin.

No. 91 (*over the entrance arch*). Jeremiah xxxi. 22 — "The Lord hath created a new thing in the earth." Sibyl Tiburtina — "Christ born in Bethlehem."

No. 92. Micah v. 2 — "But thou, Beth-



Plan XIII. — Chapel of St. Louis the King, Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

lehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah." Sibyl Persica — "The invisible word is seen and touched."

No. 93. Psalm xvi. 10 — "Neither wilt Thou suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption." Cumean Sibyl — "After having been in the tomb for three days He will arise."

The window has four lights. To the left are: —

The Angel of St. Matthew, St. Louis the Archbishop, St. Louis the King (No. 1).

No. 2 shows the Eagle of St. John, Christ in blessing, and St. Francis.

No. 3 shows the Ox of St. Luke, the Virgin Crowned, a Franciscan Saint (?).

The Lion of St. Mark, and a Queen are in No. 4.

Between the chapels of St. Anthony and St. Stephen there is a picture of the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence, with St. John the Baptist, and the Bishops Rufinus and Victor.

Chapel of St. Catherine or Cappella del Crocefisso

This chapel is the burial-place of Cardinal Egidio Albornoz, who died in 1367. The frescoes are in very bad condition.

PLAN XIV (p. 185)

No. 97 probably refers to the story of how St. Catherine was led to go out from Alexandria into the desert, and was there mystically married to Christ.

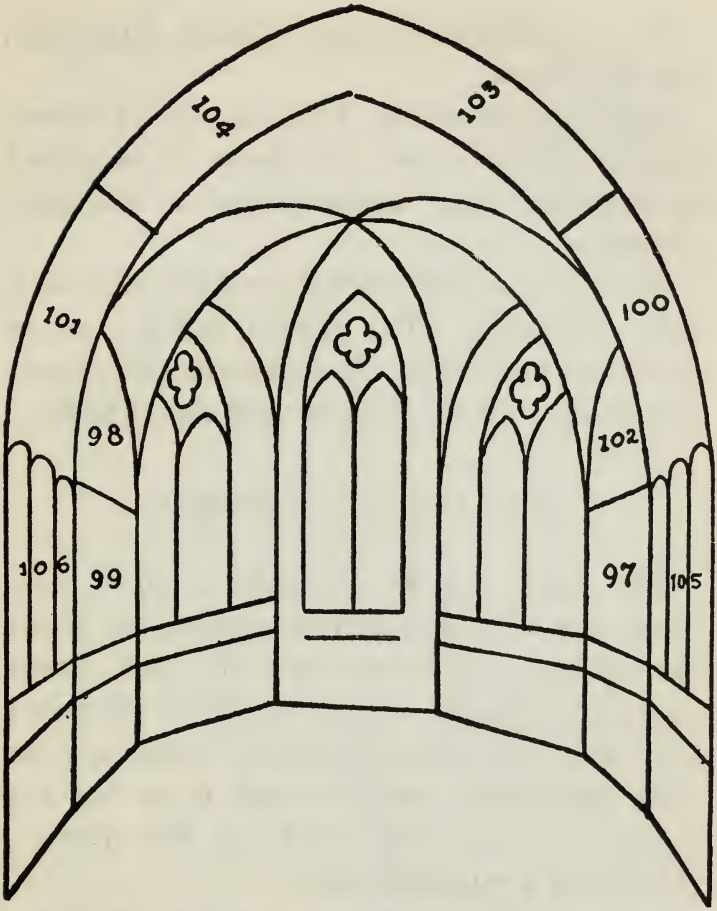
No. 98. When the Emperor Maxentius came to Alexandria Christians were condemned to death. St. Catherine appeared before the emperor and argued with him. He sent for wise men to convince Catherine, and she converted them to Christianity.

In No. 99 the wise men are condemned, bound, and cast into the fire.

St. Catherine is cast into prison (No. 100). The queen and Porphyry visit her, and are converted.

The emperor found that Catherine had suffered nothing from starvation while in prison, and in his wrath he ordered two wheels to be made so that they should break all that came between them. St. Catherine prayed to God, and an angel destroyed the wheels (No. 101).

In No. 102 the queen upbraids the emperor, and declares herself a Christian.



Plan XIV. — Chapel of St. Catherine, Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

No. 103. The queen is tortured and beheaded.

No. 104. St. Catherine is beheaded.

No. 105 depict Bishops Blasius, Eugenius, and St. Louis.

No. 106 shows St. Francis and two uncertain pictures; one of them is supposed to represent the consecration of Cardinal Albornoz.

The figures in the windows have not been fully identified. The central lights contain Madonna and Child, St. Catherine, SS. Agnes and Lucy, and St. Francis and Sta. Chiara.

The Tomb of St. Francis

The tomb of St. Francis is in a subterranean chapel, which is reached by stairs descending from the nave of the lower church. Francis is said to have foreseen that his body should receive great honour after his death, and "so will it be for the praise of my God, and by His grace" (*Mirror of Perfection*, cix.).

CHURCH OF STA. CHIARA

CHAPTER VIII

OTHER CHURCHES

The Church of Sta. Chiara

THIS was the church raised in honour of the saint after her death.

The building was begun in 1257 upon a piece of ground beside the old parish church of S. Giorgio, which was incorporated in the new structure. The hospital belonging to S. Giorgio became the convent to which the "poor ladies" were transferred from S. Damiano.

It was in the parish church that St. Francis had learned to read and write, and it was here that his body lay until the Church of S. Francesco was built.

The main incidents in the life of Sta. Chiara of which we have any record, are as follows. She was the daughter of Favorino

Scifi, a noble, whose castle stood on the outskirts of Assisi in the direction of the Carceri. Sta. Chiara had listened to the preaching of St. Francis. She was inspired with an enthusiasm for the ideal of life which he set before men. She determined to follow his example, to leave everything, and to take up the life of holy poverty. St. Francis advised her to make the definite renunciation on Palm Sunday of the year 1212. In the cathedral, on the morning of that day, she remained kneeling in prayer while the rest of the congregation went up to the altar to receive the branches of palms. Thereupon the bishop himself came towards her and placed the palm in her hand.

That night she left her father's house and went down to the Porziuncola, where she was received by Francis. She changed her dress for a plain grey habit, her hair was shorn off, and thus she marked her renunciation of the world and her determination to become a servant of the poor.

Soon after she was joined by her sister Agnes, by her mother Ortolana, and by some members of another noble family, the

Ubaldini. They received the chapel and convent of S. Damiano from St. Francis, and here they lived a laborious life of devotion, observing strictly the rule of poverty. Sta. Chiara died at the age of sixty. For some years before her death she had lost the use of her limbs, but this did not prevent her from continuing to labour in the spinning of flax, which the sisters used for making altar cloths.

After her death in 1253 the community was removed for greater safety to S. Giorgio within the walls of Assisi.

The church is a Gothic building of red and white stone, with large flying buttresses, which add to the picturesque and imposing appearance of the structure. The architect was Fra Filippo da Campello, and the wheel window designed by him in the western façade is justly famed for its beauty.

The interior is light and spacious, with a high vaulted roof. The bare walls were at one time covered with frescoes, now hidden under a coating of whitewash. The only paintings of importance that remain are in the vaulting of the roof above the high

altar. The colour of these pictures is light and harmonious, and the general effect is very beautiful. They celebrate the most famous Christian virgins.

Beginning with the diagonal towards the apse the saints are: the Virgin Mary and Sta. Chiara. To the right of these are saints Cecilia and Lucia. Then follows Agnes, the sister of Sta. Chiara, and a Franciscan nun whose name is indecipherable. The two remaining figures to the left of the Virgin are saints Margaret and Catherine.

Opening out of the south transept is the Chapel of St. Agnes, which contains an interesting portrait of Sta. Chiara, said to be the work of Cimabue. The painting is mainly in two colours, red and black; and there are eight scenes from the life of the saint at the sides.

The portrait is that of a tall, middle-aged woman with a thin, worn face. She wears a roughly made black dress and hood. She has a cord round her waist, her feet are bare. The picture is not beautiful, but it has the appearance of being a faithful record.

The scenes are as follows, beginning with the lowest panel on the left.

(1.) Sta. Chiara receives a palm branch from the bishop.

(2.) She meets St. Francis and the Frati at the Porziuncola.

(3.) She makes her vows of renunciation, and her hair is cut off.

(4.) Her parents try to force her to return to them.

On the right, beginning at the top: —

(5.) St. Agnes joins her sister.

(6.) Sta. Chiara blesses the bread on the occasion when Innocent IV. came to visit her.

(7.) The death of the saint.

(8.) The translation of the body from S. Damiano to S. Giorgio. On the opposite wall of the chapel is a picture of Madonna and Child, attributed by some authorities to Cimabue.

Crossing the nave we enter on the right the side chapel of S. Giorgio, once the parish church, where the bodies of both St. Francis and Sta. Chiara were kept until the new buildings were ready. On the wall of en-

trance are paintings by an unknown artist of the Sienese school.

At the top, the Annunciation; below on the left, St. George kills the Dragon. In the centre is the Nativity of Christ; and on the right, the Visit of the Magi. The frescoes are of no great interest, and the designs are conventional. The flesh tints are unusually pale, and the predominant colour of the draperies and background is a dull red.

Behind the altars are frescoes by another hand, representing the Deposition from the Cross, the Entombment, and the Resurrection.

Below these paintings, and a little to the right, are several exceedingly lovely figures in bright delicate colours. In the centre is the Virgin, enthroned; on the left, St. John the Baptist and Sta. Chiara; on the right, St. George and St. Francis. These paintings have been attributed to Giotto, but they have the characteristics of a Sienese rather rather than of a Florentine master.

In the same chapel there is a triptych by an artist of the school of Giotto. In the centre is the Crucifixion; on the left are

Sta. Chiara and her sister Agnes. On the right, S. Rufino and St. Agnes of Rome.

Here also is shown the Byzantine crucifix from S. Damiano, whence Francis received the message.

Returning to the nave, behind the high altar is a large crucifix of the school of Margaritone of Arezzo (1236–1313?). An inscription upon the picture says that it was painted by order of Benedicta, who succeeded Sta. Chiara, and was the first abbess in the new convent.

On the walls of the right transept are fragments of frescoes, from which the white-wash has been removed. The lower range seems to have been a series of scenes from the life of Sta. Chiara; the upper row illustrate the life of Christ. Portions of the Flight into Egypt and the Massacre of the Innocents are still visible.

From the centre of the nave a staircase leads down to the crypt where the body of the saint is preserved. Another stairway leads up to the spot where the stone coffin containing the remains was discovered in 1850 under the high altar. The large blocks

of stone show how much care had been taken to provide a secure and secret place for the safe keeping of the great treasure.

The crypt is decorated with paintings in monochrome executed in 1862. They represent the incidents in the life of the saint which have already been described, and the subjects will be easily recognized.

The body of Sta. Chiara, clothed in a black habit, is shown behind a glass window.

Cappella dei Pellegrini

This is the oratory attached to a hospital for the entertainment of pilgrims who come to visit the tomb of St. Francis.

The chapel is dedicated in the names of St. James Major, the patron of pilgrims, and of St. Anthony the Abbot.

The frescoes on the outside wall and in the interior are by two artists, Matteo da Gualdo (work dated 1468) and Pier Antonio da Foligno, called Mezzastris (working as late as 1482).

The works of Matteo da Gualdo show the influence of Boccati da Camerino, while

Mezzastris was a scholar of Benozzo Gozzoli.

Neither Matteo nor Mezzastris were competent artists. They take their place with Melanzio, who painted at Montefalco, and other secondary masters of the Umbrian school. Such painting has, however, some interest as illustrating how even in small mountain villages a succession of painters found occupation and reward.

The fresco on the outside wall above the door is much damaged. It is attributed by some to Matteo da Gualdo and by others to Mezzastris.

The subject is Christ Enthroned, holding a book with the inscription, "I am the way and the truth."

Round about is a glory of angels; eight of them are playing instruments, four others hold scrolls with inscriptions. On either side are the titulary saints. Only half of the figure of St. James remains; he carries a pilgrim's staff. On the right is St. Anthony the Abbot. Round the corner of the building to the left are traces of a huge figure of St. Christopher.

In the interior. On the wall opposite to the entrance above the altar, Matteo da Gualdo painted a Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints James and Anthony. In the lunette above, which is pierced by a window, is the Annunciation, with angels singing praises from the earth and from the heavens. At the side of the Virgin the artist has placed a little lion, which may have a symbolical reference to the Lion of Judah.

The pictures on the side walls are by Mezzastris. On the right, on entering, is the story of the miraculous help given by St. James Major to some pilgrims on their way to Compostella.

The son of a certain German, while journeying to the shrine along with his parents, was wrongfully accused of theft. He was condemned to be hanged, but the saint coming to the help of the innocent youth placed his hand under the feet of the young man, who by means of this invisible support remained uninjured. This is the subject of the scene nearest to the door.

The landscape behind the figures is

A COURTYARD IN ASSISI

curiously conventional. The colour of the mountains is a vivid pink, while the objects in the foreground are grotesquely out of proportion. No attempt is made to tell the story dramatically. The bereaved parents, discovering after several days that their son still lived, hastened to the judge who had condemned him. At this point historians differ as to what took place. According to some, the parents, finding the judge at table, related the marvellous news that they had found their son alive. The judge mockingly replied, "If your son liveth so do those fowls in the dish," and the roasted birds immediately rose up before him alive. According to others the parents urged the innocence of their son before the sceptical judge, who replied, "I should as soon believe that these fowls were alive as in the innocency of the young man." At the same moment the fowls rose to prove his error.

The figures seated at table are fairly natural, but the standing figures and those in movement are particularly wooden.

Two scenes from the life of St. Anthony the Abbot are on the wall to the left of

entrance, illustrating the charity of the saint.

Nearest to the altar, we see St. Anthony distributing alms to the blind, the sick, and the lame. The figure of the old hermit is a dignified presentment, and the beggars express their eagerness and gratitude with natural gestures. In the background is a rudimentary landscape.

The next scene describes how food was miraculously provided for the saint. Six animals, intended possibly to represent camels, burdened with provisions, kneel down before St. Anthony, who is seated at the door of a church. The monks grouped round him raise their hands in astonishment or fold them in prayer.

In the vaulting of the roof are four figures, bishops and cardinals or other dignitaries of the Church. It has been assumed that they represent the four Latin doctors of the Church, but Canon Elisei, who has written a pamphlet upon the chapel, thinks that the figures have a closer connection with the subjects illustrated on the walls. He indentifies the Pope as Leo III., who

authenticated the existence of the body of St. James at Comostella. The bishop to the left is St. Isidore of Seville, who wrote upon the preaching of the Apostle in Spain. The other bishop is St. Augustine, the eulogizer of St. Anthony the Abbot, and the cardinal is S. Bonaventura, canonized in 1482, the author of a treatise upon the life of the religious. Above the door of entrance is the figure of Christ surrounded by kneeling angels. On the left is St. James; on the right, St. Anthony and the young saint Ansano, who holds his lungs in his hand. S. Ansano is the patron of those who suffer from pulmonary affections.

PART II

Orvieto

PART II — ORVIETO

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF THE TOWN

ORVIETO stands on the site of the ancient Volsinii, one of the richest and most powerful cities of the Etruscan confederation. Hostilities between the Volsinians and Romans began in 362 B.C., and continued over a period of nearly one hundred years. The citizens of the Etruscan town had become famous for their wealth, and for their luxurious and effeminate habits. They had ceased even to trouble themselves, it was said, with the burdens of ruling, and allowed the government of the commonwealth to be managed by slaves. They shared in the general defeat of the Etruscans at the Vadimonian Lake in 310 B.C., and were finally subjugated by

the Romans in 280 B.C. The conquerors were amazed with many of the appliances of civilization which they found, and Pliny repeats the statement that not less than two thousand statues were carried off by the Romans from this city alone. The inhabitants took refuge on the shores of the Lake of Bolsena, and there a new Volsinii grew up; while a Roman town gradually arose on the ruins of the Etruscan city, and was called Urbsvetus, of which the name Orvieto is a corruption.

The number of tombs in the neighbourhood, and the large collection of works of art derived from them, are abundant evidence of the size and importance of the Etruscan city, which must have existed for five or six hundred years. Very few and only insignificant traces remain of the Roman dominion.

The history of Orvieto in the middle ages resembles that of many other Italian communes. It is a history of the struggle between the discordant elements which made up the population of that confined space — a walled city. The citizens from an early

period were divided by opposing interests, due to differences in race, with the consequent differences in political and religious sympathies.

The commune, originally governed by consuls, was Guelph in sympathy, and as a rule kept upon friendly terms with the papal power. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the town succeeded in mastering many of the neighbouring feudal lords, and compelled them to become citizens within her walls. Thus were sown the seeds of an endless political and religious division in the town, for the incomers were generally Ghibelline and imperial in their politics, and anti-papal, perhaps even heretical, in their religious sympathies. In order to repress these tendencies, Bishop Riccardo from 1171 to 1201 carried on a vigorous crusade in the town against heresy, and many of the inhabitants were tortured and put to death. This, however, did not prove an effective means of procuring permanent peace, and the creation of a new officer, a podestà, for that purpose in 1199 was equally unsuccessful. The factions were known as

"Ecclesiastici," and "Eretici," rather than as Guelphs and Ghibellines, and the balance of power lay with the ecclesiastical party.

Alliances were frequently made with Florence, and the various forms of government adopted by that republic were copied by the Orvietans.

The two chief families were the Monaldeschi, whose sympathies were with the Guelphs, and the Filippeschi, adherents of the Ghibelline party. Continual dissensions arose between the two factions. But in spite of this disunion the commune grew in power and wealth.

It was a favourite retreat with the Popes, who enriched the city with several fine palaces; and the citizens erected large municipal buildings as residences for their podestàs and captains of the people. The massive and imposing dwellings raised by private individuals, which line the deserted streets of the modern city, are further evidence of its former prosperity.

In the Piazza del Duomo alone, we have a group of four important buildings, the outcome of the religious enthusiasm of the

THE BISHOP'S PALACE

citizens, and of the relations maintained by the town with the papal see.

The oldest building is probably the Bishop's Palace, behind the Cathedral, on the right. It is said to have been founded in 977, and was certainly enlarged and restored by Adrian IV. in 1150. Almost all traces, however, of the mediæval building have been removed by the restorations made in the sixteenth century.

Adjoining, and nearer to the piazza, is the Palace of the Popes, commonly called the Palazzo Soliano, and now used as a museum.

It was built in 1297 by order of Boniface VIII. for the reception of the pontifical ambassadors, and was given by the commune to the Opera del Duomo in 1534.

Close beside it is the Hospital established for the poor in 1197 by a priest; and facing the Duomo stands an imposing building, the Palace of the Opera del Duomo, built in 1359.

It is astonishing to find so many splendid erections in a small hill city, but both municipal and private palaces sink into

insignificance beside the magnitude of the work of the Duomo. This cathedral church owes its existence to an outburst of popular piety and enthusiasm aroused by the miracle of Bolsena. The first stone was laid by Nicholas IV. in 1290, and the citizens, imposing a tax upon themselves to defray the cost, joined with the dwellers in the suburbs and surrounding districts, in long-continued efforts to bring the great work to completion.

Another centre of the ancient municipal life is to be found in the now desolate Piazza del Popolo, or Mercato, which lies on the other side of the Corso.

The massive and imposing Palazzo del Capitano, or del Popolo, one of the oldest municipal buildings of the middle ages, is said to have been erected by Adrian IV. in 1156 and restored in 1255. The upper story has six beautiful windows, and the entrance is reached by a fine flight of stairs leading from the piazza.

Another large but unfinished municipal building is the Palazzo Comunale, in the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele, erected in the

PALAZZO DEL CAPITANO

beginning of the thirteenth century, and now used as the Municipio. The Renaissance façade was added in 1524. Such are some of the evidences that still remain of the prosperity and vigorous life to be found in Orvieto in the thirteenth century. With the coming of the Emperor Henry VII. into Italy in 1311, the hopes of the Ghibelline party were revived, and the Filippeschi made an attempt to deliver Orvieto into the hands of the imperial forces. The plot was discovered, and for three days during the month of August, 1312, the opposing factions of the citizens fought in the streets. No less than four hundred of the party of the Filippeschi were killed, and the remnant were driven out of the city. Three hundred of the palaces, houses, and towers in the Via di Pusterla, belonging to the conquered faction, were burned to the ground and have never been rebuilt.

The family of the Monaldeschi, thus left without a rival, increased in power, and within the space of twenty years the various members of this family had the supreme control of the government entirely in their hands.

Their power, however, received a serious check from the factions which arose among the different branches of the family. These branches were distinguished from one another by the names of the "Stag," the "Viper," and the "Dog," and the peace of the town was continually disturbed by their disorders. The population declined rapidly under the effects of civil war and bad government. It is stated that in 1380 there were three thousand families living within the walls, and in the space of seventeen years there were less than a third of that number, while in 1424 the population counted only two hundred households. It is easy to understand how this state of things was brought about when we read that Berardo Monaldeschi in 1386, with the help of a company of Breton mercenaries, attacked a certain quarter of the town and put to death three thousand people.

In 1345 there was a brief interregnum in the rule of the Monaldeschi, due to the conquest of the city by the papal legate, Cardinal Albornoz. This able and warlike prelate succeeded in making peace among

the citizens. He re-established the Studio Generale, a school which had existed since 1013, but had been suppressed by the Monaldeschi. The cardinal also rebuilt the Fortress of La Rocca, at the northeast entrance of the town. The work, however, was interrupted by the death of the legate in 1367, and the new construction was rapidly pulled down by the opponents of the papal party. The site is now converted into a public garden, and commands a fine view of the valley of the Tiber.

During the next half century the government of the city underwent many transformations. Under the pontificates of Boniface IX. (1389–1404) and Gregory XII. (1406–1417), Orvieto was ruled by papal legates. In 1414 it was conquered by King Ladislaus of Naples, and fell under the rule of the military captain, Sforza. It was restored to the Church by the Perugian condottiere, Braccio, but was once more mastered by the "Viper" branch of the Monaldeschi in 1437. Finally the exhausted city, emptied of inhabitants through the continual warfare and succeeding pestilences,

was reduced in 1460 to the absolute dominion of the Pope. Since then Orvieto has ceased to have any history of importance, and became part of the kingdom of Italy in 1860.

CHAPTER II

ETRUSCAN ORVIETO — THE NECROPOLIS

THE Etruscan necropolis, on the north-western slopes outside of the gates, may be reached on foot from the Porta Maggiore, or by carriage from the Porta Cassia on the road leading to the railway station.

By the carriage route we reach first the tombs discovered in 1874, which are under the care of a painstaking and intelligent custodian, who was present during the first excavations.

The situation is very beautiful, with cliffs rising steeply behind, and the wide stretch of the valley of the Paglia in front.

These sepulchres are only a small portion of a vast cemetery lying at the foot of the cliffs, and encircling the entire hill, a veritable city of tombs, to which the dead were brought

from the houses of the living in the town above. Here dwellings of stone were built for the spirits. Shrines were raised in the midst of the dead, and offerings made to those deities who presided over fertility and generation.

The tombs are of an early date, probably before the sixth century B.C. They are not caves hollowed out of the rocks, but low massive buildings arranged side by side and back to back, like houses in the streets of a town. They stand now, overgrown with grass and wild flowers, in the midst of vineyards and olive gardens.

The walls, built of large stones neatly laid and without mortar, are about nine feet high. The masonry of the roof has been dressed into the form of a vault. The tall narrow doorways are without any decoration, and have simply the name of the owner of the tomb carved upon the flat lintel. There are outer and inner doors, with a small vestibule between, which may have been used as a sleeping-place by the relations when they wished to discover the will of the dead.

It was part of the belief of those who

practised the cult of the grave that the dead could exert their influence upon any one sleeping near their abode, and could reveal to them in dreams future events, or even remedies against sickness. There was a constant desire also to propitiate the spirits, and in early times among the Greeks, slaves were sacrificed at funerals in order that the dead might be provided with attendants in the world beyond.

These blocks of tombs at Orvieto have at each corner a small chamber, in which skeletons, both male and female, were discovered. It is supposed that these are the remains of servants and dependants.

A cippus of stone, generally in the shape of a pine cone, and supposed to have a phallic significance, was placed upon the roof. Inside the tombs the chamber beyond the second pair of doors is furnished for the most part with stone benches, upon which the bodies of the dead were laid. There are never more than three benches, nor less than two. A large number of vases of Bucchero, and some painted Grecian vases of archaic style, were found when the tombs

were discovered, as well as some ornaments and a few bronze weapons. All the contents of these sepulchres relate to a period before the sixth century B. C.

From this necropolis we pass to the adjoining farm in the direction of the Porta Maggiore to the tombs discovered in 1896, one of which has been preserved exactly as it was found. These sepulchres have been buried probably for centuries under the earth and débris which has fallen upon them from the higher ground above, and the entrance doors now seem to lead into caves cut out in the hillside. But these tombs are, like the rest of the necropolis, built of slabs of masonry, the roof being formed of converging blocks. They were, as a rule, closed by two stone doors, the inner being hermetically sealed.

In one tomb we can still see the bones of the two owners stretched upon the stone beds. A gold ring has dropped from the finger gone to dust, and hanging on the walls are a number of cups and plates of common earthenware and bronze. On the floor beside the benches are large vessels

for oil and wine. Some of the small vases on the walls may have contained perfumes which were supposed to ward off the final dissolution of the body. Did the relations who placed the food and the drink in these vessels believe that the shades dwelt in the narrow chamber and suffered hunger and thirst, or were they following an ancient burial custom which had only a symbolical significance? However that may have been, we know that they did hold funeral feasts, and make offerings to the dead at stated periods, for outside of the doorways of many of these tombs quantities of the remains of previous feasts were discovered, such as cups and plates, bones of birds, fishes, and beasts, and many egg-shells. As we turn from these vases and vessels, so much like our own familiar pottery, and look out at the landscape, which can have changed comparatively little in two thousand years, we are inclined to feel that our likenesses to these far-off Etruscans are perhaps greater than our differences.

Those who desire to return to the town on foot may be recommended to take the

pleasant path above the necropolis, which leads under the bastions of the cliffs. On the way we pass a little chapel with a Crucifixion painted upon the natural rock called the "Crocefisso del Tufo," and enter the town by the Porta Maggiore.

Those who visit the Etruscan sepulchres have the good fortune to find themselves led out from the towns into the surrounding fields and vineyards, and sometimes farther still into the heart of the woodland.

The tombs at Poggio Roccolo will repay the traveller, not only by the intrinsic interest of their paintings, but by the beauty of the scenery through which he must pass. The excursion by carriage occupies two or three hours. The keys of the tombs must be obtained in Orvieto. Leaving the city by the Porta Romana, we descend the hill in a southwesterly direction, following the road to Viterbo. As we climb the slopes on the opposite side, passing the Campo Santo, we have a clear view of the hill city of Orvieto, with the cathedral and other buildings massed sharply against the sky.

From this point of view, the rocks and

walls surrounding the city rise with striking effect above the olives and poplars which clothe the lower slopes.

Beyond the Campo Santo, the road passes the ancient Convent of Santa Trinita, which contains two frescoes by Pinturicchio.

On the right wall is the Madonna and Child, with SS. Joseph and Bonaventura on the left, and SS. John and Jerome on the right. Angels hold a crown over the head of Mary. Round the picture is a circle of cherub heads, and in the background there are traces of a landscape, but the fresco is now much damaged.

On the opposite wall is a figure of S. Bernardino of Siena, with four other saints.

S. Bernardino carries a scroll with the words, "*Manifestavi nominem tuum hominibus*," recalling the special mission of the saint to preach the Kingdom of Christ. He tried to persuade his hearers everywhere to take down their own ensigns, public and private, and put up in their place the monogram of Jesus.

On the right are St. Anthony of Padua and St. Peter; on the left St. Louis of Tou-

louse and St. Paul. An angel holds a crown over the head of S. Bernardino, and the figures are encircled by cherub heads. There is a pleasant landscape, and the whole forms a quiet, solemn picture with a touch of Umbrian sentiment.

The picturesque cloisters are decorated with inferior frescoes.

Shortly afterwards the road ascends more steeply, and we pass a great fall of rocks called "Sasso Tagliato," where it is said a way was miraculously opened. Higher up the hill, are the gates of the villa "Buon Viaggio," where Pius IX. once paid a visit during his sojourn at Orvieto. The road then crosses a bridge, known as the Ponte Marchese, with a monument upon it to a Gonzaga cardinal. Soon after this the carriage must be left, and we pass on foot along a grassy path through chestnut woods to the entrance to the tombs, which were discovered by Signor Golini in 1863. In these tombs we see evidence of the conflicting influences which affected the Etruscan painters.

On the one hand they were powerfully

A VIEW OF ORVIETO

influenced by Greek art, which reached them through the medium of the painted vases imported into Etruria in large numbers. They took their conceptions from the Greeks, and copied the idealized forms of the Hellenic artists.

On the other hand they were strongly drawn by their own natural tendency towards realism, and by their desire to represent things as they saw them, unrestrained by any refinements of a cultivated taste. These paintings belong to the later period of Etruscan art. Those of the second tomb date, it is supposed, from about the year 400 B.C. The system of colouring is not conventional, as in more archaic work; the faces are individualized by different expressions, and there is a good deal of life and movement in the figures of the animals.

These paintings are, however, only mediocre works of art, and their chief claim upon our interest is the life-like picture which they give us of the Etruscan people, of the customs and habits of a great civilization. We see them at their feasts, at their funerals,

at their sports, with every detail of costume minutely depicted. The first tomb, which is the less well preserved of the two, is known as the " Tomba delle Due Bighe," the tomb of the two chariots.

On entering the chamber, we see a great stone sarcophagus with its lid removed standing against the wall opposite to the entrance. Inside it there are several cups and vessels and the remains of a skeleton.

The roof is cut out of the natural rock in imitation of masonry, and a low bench runs round the room.

The paintings, which are much damaged, represent the feasts and sports held at the funeral in honour of the dead. There is the same incongruous mixture of gloomy and joyful images, of hideous demons and gaily dressed revellers, as we find on the cinerary chests.

Above the entrance door there are two long striped serpents, emblems of the underworld, perhaps regarded as protectors of the tomb. A similar pair are painted upon the opposite wall, and a few traces remain upon the doorposts, of what were once the figures

of brutal-looking demons, the Charuns, or messengers of death.

The scenes on the side walls, on the other hand, show us people in the midst of the pleasures of this world, feasting and playing, to all appearance absolutely unconscious of their surroundings.

On the wall of entrance, to the right and left, are fragments of chariots drawn by two horses, probably intended to represent the races and games held at the funeral. In some of the painted tombs we shall see that the soul is represented as journeying to the underworld in a horse-chariot. Such representations are easily distinguished from the funeral sports by the presence of the genii who accompany the spirit on its migration. Here in this tomb everything indicates that the people are on this earth and of the earth.

The banquet is painted upon the right wall. Little can now be seen except the lower part of the couches, with a pair of pigeons seated upon the footstools; and in the upper part of the picture are some of the heads of the revellers. Two of these are

young men with handsome faces of Greek type, wearing white mantles and crowns of leaves upon their heads. The names are inscribed upon the walls beside the banqueters, who seem to be in eager conversation. On the opposite wall are fragments showing that the scene of the feast was continued round the chamber, and at one side the figures of musicians can still be traced. On the wall opposite to the entrance were formerly representations of two warriors, possibly the owners of the tomb.

The second tomb, which is close at hand, has well preserved and important pictures. The chamber is divided by a partition, which stands out in the centre of the room, and is used by the artist as a line of division between the subjects represented upon either side.

In the chamber on the left hand we have scenes of preparation for a banquet of a purely earthly and material nature. In the chamber on the right are pictures of the shades partaking of unearthly food in the presence of the rulers of the underworld.

Beginning with the division on the left

of the entrance wall, we see in the first place the carcases of animals, an ox with its head severed, a kid, and a bird hung up as in a butcher's shop, and we are spared none of the ugly realistic details. On the adjoining wall a number of busy servants prepare the various dishes for the banquet. The first figure is that of a man cutting up a piece of meat on a table; next to him is a woman in a short tight tunic, superintending the arrangement of various articles of food, among which fruits and eggs are conspicuous. These provisions were used especially at the funeral feasts, probably because of the symbolical meaning attached to them. Grapes were sacred to Dionysos, who presided, not only over the new growth of spring upon the earth, but over the quickening of the seeds hidden under the ground in winter. For the same reason the pomegranate, a fruit which lays bare its seeds, was consecrated to Persephone. Eggs were used as an emblem of second life or resurrection. There are servants grouped about this table with the fruits, some carrying baskets, others playing upon a kind of double pipe, to enliven the

labours of the kitchen. At the end of the wall is a servant kneading at the three-legged table; on the adjoining wall we find the cook bending over the furnace, while another man, furnished with a kind of mallet, attends to the contents of a large vessel.

On the wall of the partition the servants are seen busily carrying the dishes to the banqueting-hall. One man, who seems to play the part of major-domo, beckons authoritatively to the servants behind. On the face of the partition is a little monkey tied to a tree, said by some to be a symbol of the vanity of human life; but by others it is regarded as one of the realistic accessories introduced to heighten the natural appearance of a company gathered together for a festival.

The scenes on the other side of the partition represent the arrival of one newly dead at the banquet of the king and queen of the underworld. The paintings are either by another hand, or the artist has adopted a more refined and less realistic style of painting to suit the change in his subject.

Beginning on the wall of entrance, to the right, we see the figure of a young man standing in a chariot drawn by two horses. Behind the horses runs a winged female genius, or Lasa, holding a scroll in her hand, the record of the life of the dead youth. It was believed that the attendant genii, or guardian spirits, accompanied human beings through their lives, and at death underwent a transformation into snakes like the souls themselves. This may account for the pair of knotted serpents which the Lasa has twisted round her waist.

The scene of the feast to which the new arrival is hastening began on the adjoining wall, but nothing now remains except a fragment of a couch and some heads with the names inscribed beside them. The paintings on the wall at the end of the chamber are, however, better preserved, and the figures of two men lying upon couches with drinking-cups in their hands can be clearly seen.

A cloudy background is painted behind the heads of the men as though to indicate some celestial region, and at the same time,

with a curious mixture of ideas, a number of candelabra with lighted candles are placed beside the couches, and two domestic pets, one like a cat called "*Krankru*," and an ape or dog called "*Kurpu*," disport themselves upon the footstools. Two musicians with instruments stand beside the couches.

The place of honour on the partition wall is given to the majestic group of the King and Queen of Hades, sitting upon thrones side by side. Little of the figures remain except the heads, with the words inscribed "*Eita*," the Greek Aïdes, and "*Phersipnai*," the Greek Persephone or Persephoneia. The head of the god is covered with a wolf's skin, and the goddess, who wears earrings and a necklace, has a sceptre crowned by the figure of a little blue bird. There is nothing awful about the appearance of these dread deities. Hades, "the invisible one," and Persephone, "the desolating slayer," are here represented as a comely and gracious pair, sharing with mortals in their taste for jewels and other ornaments. Such figures are no doubt a reflection of the growing desire, with the progress of the race, to

present a less gloomy view of the soul's existence after death, and to depict the possibility of a blissful life, for some at least, in the world beyond.

CHAPTER III

THE MUSEUMS

THE principal Etruscan collections are those of the Museo Civico, and of the Conte Faina in the Palazzo Faina. A small collection in the town, belonging to Signor Mancini, is also courteously shown to visitors.

Part of the municipal collection is still preserved in the Opera del Duomo, in the southwestern corner of the Piazza del Duomo. On the ground floor are the following exhibits: —

No. 600. A column of pyramidal shape with the words in large Etruscan letters "Tinia, Tinscvil," that is, "Sacred to Tinia," the Etruscan deity corresponding with the Greek Zeus.

From this inscription it is supposed that

this stone was either an altar or, perhaps more probable, a stone case for holding the pole or log of wood, the primitive symbol of Zeus among the ancient peoples of Italy.

Stone cippi, some of which have inscriptions. These stone monuments were used to mark the place of sepulchres and to signify that the earth was sacred. They were placed on the roofs or above the doorways of the tombs, corresponding in number to the dead buried within. Some of the cippi are to be seen in their original position at the necropolis on the northern slopes of the hill.

No. 845. A stela, or sepulchral monument with a bas-relief, probably representing the dead person. This style of monument is rare in the district, and is archaic in character.

The statue of a goddess, known as the Venus of Cannicella. This statue was found in 1884, in the necropolis under the cliffs, to the south of the city. "Turan," the Etruscan Venus, venerated as a manifestation of the fertile and reproductive forces of nature, was probably worshipped at a shrine raised

in the midst of the cemetery. Some of the votive offerings were discovered in the débris, and are now laid round about the statue. The figure of the goddess is an interesting example of the influences which affected the Etruscans in the representation of religious images. At first purely Oriental forms were adopted. The deities were often figured with the heads of animals and with wings. But as the influence of Greek civilization spread, the Asiatic types were replaced by more gracious and natural conceptions of the human form, imitated from Hellenic models.

The head of this Venus is like the archaic primitive goddess of the East, with heavy features and plaits of hair arranged in rigid parallel lines. On the other hand, the body is in a different and much freer style, and resembles the work of the later Greek sculptors.

Fragments of statues in terra-cotta, the decorations of an Etruscan temple, discovered in the Via Cassia. They are numbered 721, 722, 723, 724.

The Etruscan temples seem to have been

ETRUSCAN STATUARY

informed by the same general principles as the Doric style of buildings in Greece.

The tympanum of the Etruscan temple, however, unlike the Grecian model, did not rest directly upon the pillars, but projected in front of them like a balcony, and was therefore incapable of supporting the weight of a group of statues in solid stone.

The Etruscan architects showed their usual ingenuity and their readiness to sacrifice artistic requirements to practical utility by the substitution of terra-cotta for stone, and of bas-relief for sculpture in the round.

The terra-cotta figures in high relief were attached by nails to the building, and when covered with paint presented the appearance of a group of statuary. The fragments of terra-cotta here include masks and parts of statues of satyrs, fauns, and nymphs, indicating perhaps that the Temple was dedicated to the Etruscan Bacchus or "Phupluns."

In the same room there is also an Etruscan tomb, which has been brought from the necropolis lying to the north of the city. It is a good example of the type of tombs

built of stones without cement. The chamber is furnished with two stone benches upon which the dead were laid. The roof is formed of blocks of stone so placed that each one projects beyond the other until they meet at the top. The projecting ends are sawn off, and the effect is that of a roughly made vault.

In two of the other rooms of the building are careful reproductions of the paintings in the tombs of Settecammini at Poggio Roccolo near to Orvieto, which may be studied with advantage both by those who intend to visit the tombs and those who cannot do so, as they are interesting examples of Etruscan painting. They present to us a realistic and vivid picture of some of the customs, habits, and costumes of this great race of people.

Leaving the Opera del Duomo we cross the piazza to the Palazzo Soliano, or Palazzo del Papa, where is the collection of Etruscan pottery and bronzes.

The pottery may be divided roughly into three classes: —

1. The Bucchero, or black ware, the national pottery of Etruria.

2. Painted vases of archaic style, with black designs upon red.

3. Painted vases of more perfect style, with red designs upon black.

A large number of the designs upon the pottery relate to the myths in connection with the worship of Dionysos.

We know that in Roman times Bacchus was most renowned in places, such as Orvieto, where the light volcanic soil was especially adapted to the cultivation of the vine. It is possible, therefore, that there may have been a special cult of the deity in this district in Etruscan times.

Upon the Bucchero ware, and upon the pottery of an early date generally, the symbols relating to Dionysos are those of a primitive people, worshippers of the forces of nature. He is conceived of as an earth-god, and an embodiment of reproductive force, to be expressed not in human form, but by the trunk of a vine, or by some other rude emblem of fertility.

The symbols of this god which appear upon the Bucchero ware in this museum are all associated with the life of the field and

the forest. Such are the panthers and lions, beasts of the forests; the goats and rams, emblems of the fertile fields; the scrolls of vine leaves, and clusters of fruit, and the ever green ivy.

On entering the hall we find a collection of black Bucchero ware, the national pottery of the Etruscans, in Cases I., III., V., VII., and VIII. The black colour was obtained by baking the clay in a covered kiln, and subjecting it to a thick black smoke. We may trace the development of this pottery from various examples in these cases. The first attempts are rude in form and of a dull greyish colour, and these nondescript vessels gradually give place to better formed specimens which are both smoother and more lustrous.

The earliest examples are to be found on the upper shelf of Case VII., nearest to the door. The Bucchero ware dates from the end of the seventh century B.C., and the Etruscan artists seem to have borrowed the designs of many Eastern nations. Drinking-vessels, cups, and vases of various shapes are ornamented with stamped designs of

fantastic animals from Oriental art. Veiled women's heads, with the hair arranged in rigid lines, are noticeable among the animal forms. These heads are believed to signify the dwellers in the underworld, and they appear in connection with several Dionysiac emblems such as bunches of grapes, panthers, and goats. On the second shelf of Case VII. there is a fine piece of Bucchero ware with the design so familiar in Oriental art of two animals, one on each side of a sacred tree.

Case III. has some large bronze sacrificial vessels used for pouring the libation over the head of the victim. In this same case are vessels of Bucchero in fantastic shapes. One has a bearded head of Bacchus in front, and ends in a ram's head, the ram being one of the symbols of the god. A similar form was called "*Rhyton*" by the Greeks, and was the wine jug used by the satyrs and other followers of Dionysos.

Vases in the shape of a bent leg also occur in reference to the second birth of the wine god. Semele, whose likeness was the surface of the earth, died smitten with the lightning heat when her son Dionysos, the

vine, was born. His father Zeus, figured by the sky from whence clouds and thunderbolts come, hid the child in his thigh until he should be fit for this second birth.

In Cases V., VI., X., XI., and XII. we find examples of painted vases both of archaic and of later style. These Greek vases have been found by the thousand in tombs of all periods later than the middle of the sixth century B.C. The greatest number were importations from Greece, and only a comparatively small number were made in Etruria in imitation of the Greek models. Such imitations are easily distinguished by characteristic details in costume, and by the realistic scenes of Inferno, with the grimacing demons and furies peculiar to Etruscan mythology.

Painted vases of the archaic style with black designs upon red. There are a number of drinking-cups, principally of two forms, the *Kylix*, a flat shallow cup with two horizontal handles, and the *Kantharos*, a slightly deeper cup with handles rising above the bowl. Both kinds of vessels were used in the Dionysiac festivals. The *Kantharos* was

AN ETRUSCAN VASE

sacred to Dionysos, and the *Kylix* is the cup most frequently used by his followers. Several of these cups have enormous eyes painted upon them, in conjunction with bunches of grapes and figures of satyrs and nymphs. It has been suggested that these vessels were presents made by the bridegroom, and that the eyes were an allusion to the unveiling of the bride.

In Case X. is a large amphora with designs in black, representing the nuptial procession of Thetis and Peleus, who are seated in a chariot drawn by four horses, and preceded by Dionysos and Hermes.

In Cases XI. and XII. there are a few examples of the later style, with red figures upon a black ground, dating from the middle of the fifth century and onwards. They are chiefly in the form of drinking-bowls or wine jugs, with the figures of satyrs and dancing women, Silenus on his ass, and other subjects relating to the worship of Dionysos.

The Faina Collection

A fine Etruscan collection derived from the excavations made in the neighbourhood

of Orvieto and at Chiusi is to be seen in the Palazzo Faina (opposite to the Duomo), open to visitors through the courtesy of the owner, Conte Faina.

In the first hall, ranged along the floor, are twelve terra-cotta cinerary chests from the neighbourhood of Chiusi, with sculptured figures upon the lids and reliefs upon the sides of the chests. The sculptures upon the lids are realistic portraits of the dead represented in the midst of the enjoyment of life, eating, drinking, talking, or playing with their ornaments. The subjects of the reliefs below are in sharp contrast with the serenely contented men and women on the lids. They illustrate, as a rule, some tragic scene of combat, slaughter, murder, or sacrifice. The fate of mortals is shown to be in the hands of the gods, who make use of death as a punishment for impiety or presumption.

No. 3 has a sleeping figure upon the lid, and on the side of the chest is a drinking vessel, or *Kantharos*, sacred to Dionysos; on either side of it is a dolphin. The dolphin is probably here as an emblem of the pro-

ductive force of the sea, and hence its connection with Dionysos.

No. 4 has on the lid the figure of a beautiful woman resting gracefully upon her left elbow, which is supported by a pillow. The relief upon the chest represents a marine deity, figured as a woman down to the waist, and ending in twisted serpent tails. Figures of marine deities are common among the Etruscans, whose wealth depended greatly upon their maritime commerce. These figures do not correspond closely with any of the creations of Greek mythology. They generally appear in combat with men, or threatening them with disaster, and seem to imply the terrors and dangers which await those who go down to the sea in ships.

No. 12. The recumbent statue of a man has a saucer-shaped bowl in his hand, resembling the Roman "*Patera*." In place of a handle this drinking-vessel has a hollow-raised boss in the centre, into which the fingers could be inserted. The relief on the chest represents two warriors attacked by a half-clothed figure armed with a plough. This may represent the mysterious plough-

man who appeared suddenly in the battle of Marathon and assisted the Greeks by killing many of the barbarians with his implement.

Several of the bas-reliefs on the smaller urns with sleeping figures upon the lids have the same subject. They are identical, and to all appearance have been cast from the same mould. Chests of this kind were probably kept in stock, and the lids with portraits of the dead were done on commission.

The bas-relief of No. 11 represents the fratricidal combat between Eteokles and Polyneikes, the joint rulers of Thebes. This relief is a good example of the Etruscan treatment of a Greek theme. The dire result of the conflict, and the certain end in store for the brothers, is signified by the introduction of a fury, or Lasa, the messenger of death, who stretches her arms towards the unhappy pair.

No. 14 has a touching and simple scene of farewell between the living and the dead. Two persons stand before a door with their hands clasped, and beside each one is a fury holding a torch.

On the floor to the right of the entrance are a number of the strange cinerary vases called "*canopi*," with lids in the shape of human heads. They are found most commonly in the neighbourhood of Chiusi, and date from the eighth and seventh centuries B. C. They are interesting links in the history of the development of the art of sculpture in the round, among the Etruscans. It is evident that sincere efforts were made to secure a likeness in the rudely shaped head; in order to increase the human resemblance, these *canopi* are often placed upon a seat of bronze or stone, and roughly formed arms ornamented with rings and bracelets are attached by means of pegs to the sides of the vase.

The next image shows a still further advance in the power of representation. Here we have the roughly blocked-out figure of a man. The head is movable, and the hollow body was used as a receptacle for the ashes. The gradual development of sculpture from the rude human-headed vase to the full-sized recumbent figure upon the lid of the sarcophagus or chest is fully

illustrated in the museum of Chiusi. *On the shelves* against the walls are a number of pieces of black Bucchero ware, some of which, noticeable for the high polish and lustrous finish, came from Castel Giorgio, two miles from Orvieto on the Viterbo road.

Two shallow bowls or *Patera* should be noticed, Nos. 495 and 439. On the shelf to the right of the entrance are a number of terra-cotta masks. Four are of women's faces of a somewhat idealized type, and may represent the attendant invisible spirits, genii or furies, or they may be personifications of Death.

Nos. 380 and 381 are two masks of hideous demons with large noses, long tusks, and horns on their heads. They can be easily identified from the painted vases as the Etruscan Charun, the messenger of Death, who strikes down his victims with his mallet.

On these shelves there are also a number of small objects of various forms and different materials, votive offerings to the gods who have the destiny of mortals in their keeping. These rudely formed images of bulls, deer, pigs, mothers suckling their babes, apples,

plums, etc., were offered to the powers who presided over the reproductive forces of life. The small terra-cotta figures of men on horseback, and of chariots drawn by horses, which look so like cheap playthings, represented the mysterious journey of the soul to the underworld.

Several of the drinking-cups have illustrations of the rites connected with the Dionysiac worship, and the shelves also contain some phallic emblems, which were probably worn as amulets.

Room II. has a collection of consular and imperial coins.

In Room III. are the bronzes. Case A, on the wall right of entrance, contains a number of objects much restored.

On the top shelf of Case B are several flesh hooks, with six or eight long prongs, sometimes curved and sometimes straight. They were probably used in the sacrifices for taking up or turning the burnt flesh, or possibly for raking together the ashes of the dead on the funeral pyre.

In the same case are several good examples of the graceful candelabra, for which the

Etruscan bronze-workers were famed throughout ancient Europe.

In Case C, on the upper shelf, are three well-preserved helmets, one of iron; also a number of axe-heads, lances, and spears. On the lower shelves are bronze amulets and idols, for the most part obtained from the neighbourhood of Perugia and Bettona.

These small bronze figures were used for various purposes. Some were portable idols, carried about by the worshippers; others were votive offerings made at the shrines of certain deities whose protection and favour were sought. Certain of the statuettes were attached to the bronze candelabra or braziers or other articles of sepulchral furniture. The exaggerated length of limb in several of these figures is an indication of the thoroughly practical character of these people, and of their inclination to place utility before beauty. Vows were no doubt made of offerings of a given size, and these attenuated figures fulfilled the requirements of height at the least possible expenditure of workmanship and material.

In Case E, immediately above the entrance

A GROUP OF ETRUSCAN BRONZES

door, is a bronze brazier with the figures of Hippocampi at the corners. This vessel is provided with feet on wheels, and was probably dragged through the tombs for the purpose of fumigation during the funeral feast. The Hippocampus is the animal most frequently represented as the bearer of the soul to the underworld.

Case D has a miscellaneous collection of vases, strigils, bracelets, rings, pins, and mirrors. These mirrors are polished on one side for reflection, and engraved for ornament upon the other. It is significant of the changes which took place in the habits, and probably in the character of the race, that no mirrors have been found in tombs earlier than the third century B.C., and that after that period they became very abundant. In a cave tomb near Orvieto, which had been used as a place of burial from 240 to 217 B.C., there were found no less than eleven mirrors. The subjects upon them are as a rule mythological, but they never represent scenes of combat or death, and the attendant spirits who appear are of a different order from the hideous demons

introduced in the sepulchral paintings and sculptures. The favourite deities figured on the mirrors, are Turan (or Venus), Phupluns (or Bacchus), Adonis, and Apollo, and the scenes chosen relate, as a rule, to the meeting of lovers, the triumph of beauty, and the exploits of heroes.

Case G contains a number of flints in the shape of spears, arrows, and the like, found near Perugia and Orvieto. It is supposed that the Etruscans attached a superstitious value to these stones, and wore them as amulets.

On the second and third shelves are necklaces, combs, and small glass bottles probably of foreign workmanship, imported into Etruria by the Phœnicians. In the case in the centre of the room are a number of gold ornaments dating from the fourth century B.C.

Room IV. has a number of vases chiefly in the shape of a drinking-cup called by the Greeks *Kylix*, in archaic style with black designs upon a red ground. This style belongs to the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. A large proportion of the examples were probably imported from Greece.

Room V. has an important collection of Bucchero ware, illustrating the gradual development of the industry from the primitive coarse vases of blackish grey colour up to the lustrous well-formed pottery of later date.

Room VI. contains painted vases. The large majority of these vases are probably Greek importations, but several are obviously of Etruscan workmanship from the fashion in which grotesque and realistic details are added to the usual Hellenic conceptions of the scene.

Three of the vases, Nos. 19, 20, 21, on the shelf to the left of the entrance, are interesting illustrations of the Etruscan representations of the after-life of the spirit. The technical qualities of the vases are mediocre, and the style of the design poor. They are mounted upon a revolving stand, so that the whole of the figures can be inspected.

No. 19. Here is represented the place of the shades, the region of darkness and terror, guarded by the three-headed Cerberus with a serpent tail. The unhappy victim of death, represented as an old man, stands between two brutal figures, Charuns, one of

whom is armed with a hammer, and two great serpents raise their heads close beside him. Turning the vase, we see the chariot of the King and Queen of Hades, drawn by two dragons, and this in turn is followed by a fury, or some personification of death, a naked, winged woman holding a scroll with the word "Vanth," death.

No. 21 is almost identical with No. 19.

No. 20 represents a funeral car drawn by two mules, bearing the body to the sepulchre. This is followed by a scene from the underworld to which the spirit of the dead has migrated. The King of Hades appears in his chariot, preceded by a figure of Charun, and followed by a personification of Death holding a closed book, significant of the life that has ended.

The mediæval collection is in the large hall of the Palazzo Soliano.

Under the second window, on the right of the entrance, is a fine piece of carving of Italo-Byzantine workmanship. Peacocks and other birds eating grapes are enclosed by an interlacing scroll. The slab is said to date from the eighth century, and originally

formed part of an altar screen in the Monastery of La Badia, outside of the town.

Against the wall are a number of pieces of the old choir stalls from the Duomo, and a large chorale with figures of the Apostles in intarsiatura. These are the work of Tura dell Ammanato of Siena and of Giovanni Talini, and are dated 1333.

Between the second and third windows to the right are a number of pictures.

No. 38, a Crucifixion, attributed to Margaritone of Arezzo (1236–1313?), represents a painfully contorted figure.

No. 16 is a small easel picture of the Crucifixion, by Spinello Aretino (1333?–1410), with a gilt background.

No. 59 is by Simone Martini (1285?–1344), a Madonna and Child under a trefoil arch. Above Mary's head are the symbols of the Alpha and Omega, and on either side are angels with sceptres and orbs inscribed "*Troni.*"

No. 64 is also by Simone Martini. This picture, known as the "Trasimundo Madonna," was painted for Trasimundo, the Bishop of Savona, who is represented kneel-

ing at the left corner of the picture. The four saints are St. Dominic and the Magdalene, in the upper compartments; St. Paul and St. Peter below.

No. 40. A small picture by a follower of Giotto. Madonna is seated in the centre with the Child; on the left are St. Agnes and St. Paul, and on the right a woman saint with a blazing vase, and St. Peter.

Hanging on the wall is a marble basin, for a holy water stoup, by Desiderio da Settignano (1428–1463), the most noted pupil of Donatello. The outside of the basin is carved with a rich design of leaves, and in the inside are fish, crabs, and other dwellers in the sea in high relief.

A magnificent collection of vestments is placed in the cases in the middle of the hall. One of these cases contains a number of mitres, in connection with which it is told that the Bishop of Orvieto was entitled to wear five mitres, significant of the five dioceses over which he presided.

In a case on the right side of the hall is a graceful censer attributed to Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571) and a silver gilt pastoral

staff, which belonged to Cardinal Simoncelli. Notice also in Case XIV., a quaint little casket of the fourteenth century, of painted wood, interesting on account of the subjects of a romantic and chivalrous character. On the side facing the window is a Fountain of Love, in the centre of the world, "*Il Mondo*," and around the fountain are gathered knights and ladies. On the opposite side of the casket are a number of kings with their names inscribed, amongst which can be distinguished the kings of Portugal, Aragon, France, Sicily, England. In the centre of the hall are several statues of the Pisan school deserving of notice.

Two wooden figures of the Angel Gabriel and of the Virgin were at one time attributed to Friedrich of Freiburg, but are now ascribed to the Pisan school. Traces of colour show that the figures were once painted in a realistic manner. A small marble statue of Madonna and Child, by Nino Pisano, resembles the work of the grandfather Niccolo rather than that of the father Giovanni. It is a pleasant figure with a simple and naïve expression, but it is somewhat spoiled by the

trifling device of making the arms of the Virgin, and the Child's head, movable.

The most notable object in the centre of the hall is, perhaps, the beautiful reliquary made to contain the head of S. Savino. It was made by Ugolino da Maestro Vieri and Vivo da Siena (working in 1337). This graceful and beautiful piece of goldsmith's work was done by the artists as a proof of their ability to undertake the making of the reliquary for the Corporale in the Duomo.

Along the walls of the room are a number of large marble statues of the Apostles and some saints, by sculptors of the sixteenth century. St. Sebastian is the work of Lo Scalza, and St. Matthew is attributed to Giovanni da Bologna. For the most part they are tasteless productions, and have been wisely removed to the museum from the nave of the Duomo.

Under the third window to the left on entering is a small picture by Luca Signorelli (1441–1523), painted upon terra-cotta, representing his own portrait and that of Niccolo Franceschi, the camerlingo of the Duomo, and dated 1504.

Close beside this window is the bronze top of a candelabrum, formed by four little statuettes of the doctors of the Church.

Between the second and third windows of the left wall is a picture of the Magdalene by Luca Signorelli, a large heavy figure, and without charm of colour. Beside this is a heavily over-painted panel of the school of Giotto, representing the Virgin and Child with saints Savino and Giovenale. The picture comes from the old Church of S. Giovenale.

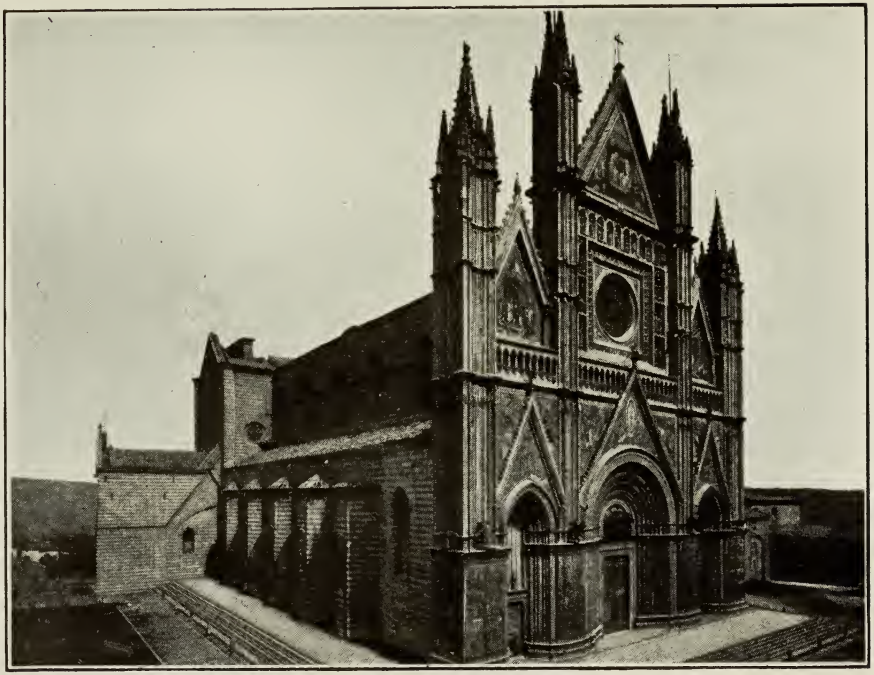
On the entrance wall, close to the door, are some fine pieces of leather wall hangings of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Such hangings as these were largely used in the decoration of Orvietan palaces.

CHAPTER IV

THE DUOMO

THE Duomo of Orvieto is one of the most elaborate examples of that particular kind of Gothic architecture which found favour for a comparatively short time south of the Alps. This style had been introduced into Italy perhaps late in the twelfth century, certainly early in the thirteenth. Throughout this latter century there was a tendency to naturalize many of the ideas that were moving architects and sculptors north of the Alps.

Giovanni Pisano (died 1320) had adopted what may be called the Italian Gothic style for the façade of the Duomo at Siena, and when Arnolfo del Cambio began to build the Duomo of Florence in the last years of the thirteenth century, he used the same manner. In these adaptations there is a lack of spon-



THE DUOMO, ORVIETO

taneity and freedom. The Italian architect employed the northern forms without sympathizing fully in the northern spirit.

The design at Orvieto is distinctly formal and flat; the architect was not working at his ease, he was indeed using a style forced on him by the fashion of the time. And yet, though it is easy to criticize the shortcomings of the building it would be hard to exaggerate its magnificence.

Most of the mosaics, it is true, are modern restorations; but at a sufficient distance, where the heavy forms and puerile attitudes are not distinguishable, the colour of these pictures has a fine effect. No monument in Italy can show such a lovely blending of marbles shading off into delicate yellows and pinks as those which surround the great doorways and form a setting for the mosaics.

The four piers which flank the western doorways are covered with reliefs which are among the best examples of Italian sculpture. It is characteristic that the work should be in bas-relief, which can hardly be seen at a short distance from the building. The porches at Chartres remind us that the

sculptors north of the Alps knew better how to make their work effective.

It has usually been assumed that Lorenzo Maitani of Siena was the first architect of the Duomo; but if, as is supposed, Maitani was born in 1275, and the building was begun in 1290, we must look elsewhere.

So far as the artistic record of the time goes, two men only seem possible, namely, Giovanni Pisano who, according to Vasari, had designed the façade of the Duomo at Siena a few years earlier, and Arnolfo del Cambio, who began the building of Sta. Maria del Fiori at Florence a few years later than the building at Orvieto. There is no direct evidence, and we must be content to know that the design for Orvieto followed the lines of the great Tuscan architects of the time, and that certainly in 1310, if not before, Lorenzo Maitani became architect.

In 1293 there is a record of the principal men who were connected with the work. They were Ramo di Paganello of Siena; Fra Guglielmo, a pupil of Niccolo Pisano; and Jacomo di Cosma Romana (of the Cosmati family). Fra Bevignate, who built the

aqueduct at Perugia, was also there, and he was Capo Operaio for some time before 1300.

At the time of the settlement of Maitani in 1310, it is supposed that the façade was still unbuilt, and it is thought that he altered the plan, so that the two sides were carried up higher, and were finished off with gables in the same way as the central member of the design.

In 1321 Maitani set up a factory for making material for the mosaics, and there are frequent entries in the accounts for glass from Venice. Marble was brought from Rome, from Carrara, and from Monte Specchio, near Siena, and alabaster was obtained at Montalcino.

When Lorenzo Maitani died in 1330, he was succeeded by his son Niccolo, who was assisted by his brother Vitale and a certain Meo of Orvieto. Andrea Pisano was appointed Capo Maestro in 1347. He was succeeded by his son, Nino, who began to build the chapel of the Corporale in 1350 — working on foundations that had been laid in the time of Maitani.

The round window of the façade is men-

tioned as early as 1354. It was carried on under Andrea Orcagna, who became Capo Maestro in 1359. It was not finished until twenty years later.

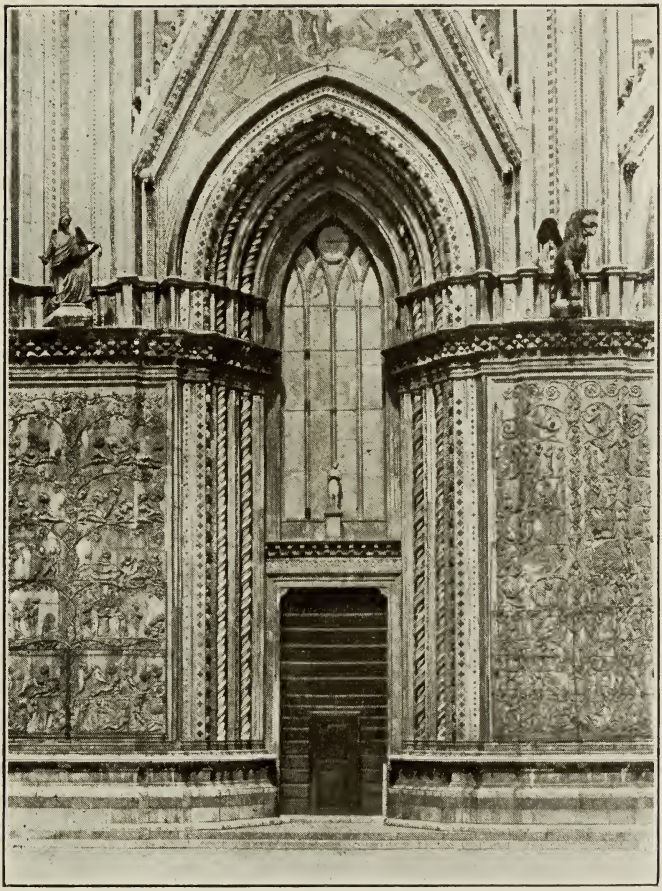
In 1397 money was left to build the Capella Nuova or Capella di S. Brizio. The work was begun in 1408 and finished in 1419.

In 1451 the design of the upper part of the façade was altered by Antonio Federighi. The row of niches above the circular window was added, thus raising the height of the central part of the building.

The statues for the niches round the circular window were not executed until long after. Moschino (died 1578), Ippolito Scalza (working 1579), Raffaello da Montelupo, and others were concerned in the sculpture between the years 1555 and 1578.

The Façade

The building of the Duomo was due to a desire to commemorate the miracle of Bolsena. In it the Church saw a divine recognition of the sacrifice of the mass. By this manifestation, the healing power of the



FAÇADE OF THE DUOMO

Passion was confirmed to every man in the daily sacrament of the altar. The priest whose doubt was set at rest at Bolsena was only one among many who in the thirteenth century hesitated to accept the teaching of the Church, and the desire was natural that the miracle worked for his benefit should be made known to the world.

The general design of the church is therefore a testimony to the mystery of the Incarnation and its embodiment in the sacrament of the Eucharist. The dedication of the church was in the name of the Virgin Mary. It is in the teaching of St. Bernard, the spiritual leader of the twelfth century, that we realize the relation which the Virgin had to the religious feeling of the time. Madonna was the royal way by which men could ascend to Christ, as by it He descended to mankind. She was the mediatrix and advocate between Christ and man. It was her abundant charity that concealed the multitude of men's sins.

As the Incarnation is the central idea of the building, we find its realization in the Divine Child seated on His mother's knee,

placed in the most conspicuous point over the central doorway on the western façade On the pinnacle above this doorway there is the Paschal Lamb, the sacrifice of the Passover being a type of the sacrifice of Christ. In the mosaics we have the detail of the life of the Virgin Mary. Around the rose window are gathered the prophets, apostles, and doctors of the Church militant. And on the four piers about the western doors there is a history of the world from the time in which all things came forth from God until they return to their justification in Him.

The sculpture and the mosaic over the entire façade may be regarded as a mirror of the universe in which man may perceive the true nature of his being, and the whence and the whither of his existence.

The mosaics on the upper part of the façade depict the life of the Virgin. The picture over *the right-hand western door* represents the Nativity of Madonna. The angel appears to Joachim and to Anna, and at the sides there stand the prophets Nahum and Isaiah, with legends sufficiently preserved to enable us to identify their words.

The extract from the prophecy of Nahum is contained in iii. 17, "When the sun is arisen the enemies of God flee away like locusts." The extract from Isaiah is in ix. 2, "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light."

In the *right-hand gable* there is the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. In the corresponding *gable to the left* is the Sposalizio, and over the left-hand door is the Baptism of Christ, with the Annunciation immediately above it. *Over the central doorway* is the Assumption of Madonna, and in the *central gable* the Coronation.

The wheel window has for its centre, Christ with a cruciform nimbus; the niches at the side are occupied by twelve prophets, and in the niches above the window are twelve apostles. In the four corners are the four doctors of the Latin Church; SS. Gregory and Jerome in the upper corners and SS. Ambrose and Augustine below. On the four piers above the doorways are the four symbols of the Evangelists. It is a realization of the saying of St. Paul, "And He gave some apostles, and some prophets,

and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers . . . that we henceforth be no more children . . . but that speaking the truth in love we may grow up unto Him in all things, which is the head, even Christ."

The Sculpture on the Piers

We must now consider the sculptures about the western doorways of the Duomo. Whether they be considered as works of mediæval art or as illustrations of the mediæval mind, they are of great importance.

There is no direct evidence as to the authorship or date of these sculptures. There is a general agreement that they are due to followers of the school founded by Niccolo Pisano (1206?–1280), and continued under changing influences by Giovanni Pisano (died 1320) and Andrea Pisano (died after 1349); but there is a difference of opinion as to whether the sculptors belonged to the company who had worked on the Duomo of Siena, or whether they were Florentines. The date is equally uncertain. Some authori-

ties place the work as early as 1310; others believe that part of it is due to the time of Andrea Orcagna, who was Capo Maestro in 1359–1360. It is evident that several hands have been at work, and many years were probably spent upon it. In general effect there is more likeness to works of the Florentine school than to any known Sienese sculpture. The style suggests a date later than that of the panels on the campanile at Florence. So far as such uncertain indications go, it may perhaps be tentatively accepted that the work was done about the middle of the fourteenth century, and under the influence of Andrea Pisano, Capo Maestro (1347–1349), and Andrea Orcagna, Capo Maestro (1359–1360).

These reliefs take their place with the fountain at Perugia (1280), the reliefs on the campanile at Florence (after 1334), and the relief on the tabernacle of Or San Michele (about 1360) as among the best of all Italian sculptures. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that they are the finest works executed south of the Alps since the time of the great Greek masters.

It will be noticed that all the monuments just named (with some exception on the fountain at Perugia) consist of works in more or less low-relief. This distinguishes them from the sculpture of French artists who were accustomed to work in the round.

In the Orvietan reliefs a certain over-graciousness takes the place of the strong imaginative quality of northern work. The figure of Christ fails in impressiveness; there is no fit conception of the creative power in act. So filled is the artist with the grace and beauty of this world that he fails to grasp the wider ideal; he is satisfied to represent the mystery of creation in terms of real life. If, on the one hand, Byzantine art disregards human feeling to concern itself mainly with the abstract and general, it is equally true that this Pisan-Florentine art loses the power of expressing the super-natural in its search after the emotions of ordinary humanity. We feel the want of ability to express an existence not limited by human conditions. We are not inspired with awe by a presence aloof from and

beyond our own. Nor is the expression of the deeper passions of our nature successfully mastered. Such scenes as the Massacre of the Innocents and the Despair of the Damned are dealt with conventionally.

But when this is said there is little left to criticize. It would be hard to find anything more graceful and picturesque than the lower scenes on the first pier. There is complete command over form, either in rest or motion. We may notice, for instance, the subtle discrimination between the unanimated form of Adam and his form when lying asleep, while the graceful rendering of the angels has just that quality of distinction and reserve which distinguishes it from the works of the fifteenth century Renaissance. There is a variety of style even among these lower panels. Adam and Eve in the garden in Nos. 7 and 8 (Plan XV.) show a tendency to shortness of body, largeness of head and heaviness of feature, which is not found in the Creation series, Nos. 3, 4, and 5 (Plan XV.).

The use of sculpture in bas-relief has allowed full play to the artists' sense for the

beauty of landscape and the forms of vegetation, which add so great a charm to the design.

The second pier is considered the least interesting as a work of art. There is an easy command of method, there is freedom of pose and a sufficient sense of action, but there is a certain heaviness and want of distinction and a lack of vigour and feeling. The design at the foot of the pier where the prophets and rulers are seen, may be compared with the similar part of the third pier. In the latter there is far more dramatic force; those who hold their scrolls are instinct with life; the character of the figures is more virile and of a higher type; the sleeping patriarch is more dignified. The love of landscape breaks out again in the third pier, as it does on the first; the scene is set among trees, each one of which is a study; there are olives and figs and many oaks such as those that still add a charm to the hills and valleys of Central Italy.

The sculpture of the life of Christ is of fine quality. We are struck at once by the simplicity and the dramatic feeling of most

of the scenes. The Annunciation, it is true, is somewhat artificial, but of any such fault the Visitation is entirely clear. There is a true balance between human feeling and the sense of the divine mystery which brings the two women together. The Nativity recalls a Byzantine model, and to this is added a certain human grace and tenderness, making it as a whole one of the most beautiful representations in Italian art.

The Adoration of the Magi is only second in merit to the Nativity. It suffers from overcrowding and it verges on the narrative style of treatment, and yet it is a fine work, worthy of the best traditions of a great school. The sculpture on the fourth pier is less remarkable than the work on the first and third piers.

The designs upon the four piers are devoted to the drama of human salvation treated in an elaborate system of type and antitype.

Each design is pictured in the form of a tree, and the leading idea is the opposition of the expectation of the Prophets, with the realization of the Gospel.

The First Pier

The ivy branches in which the subjects are set symbolize everlasting life. They are typical of the idea that those who die in Christ never cease to live.

Beginning with *the lower panels*, we are at once struck with the fact that the subject is not historically treated. It is not a sculptured version of the early chapters of Genesis; it is an attempt to set forth the spiritual significance of the facts, and to suggest the relationship between the Creator and humanity. The work of the first four days appears in its results only, nor is the rest of the seventh day represented. It is only the creation of the fifth and sixth days, when fowls, fishes, cattle, creeping things, and man were made, that is shown to us in operation.

PLAN XV (p. 275)

In No. 1 the work of creation is effected by the Trinity, represented by the hand of God, by the figure of Christ, and by the dove of the Holy Spirit. The manifestation of

DETAIL OF THE FIRST PIER

power by means of the hand gives existence; the wisdom of the word gives the rational nature by which man becomes deserving of praise and blame; the love of the Holy Spirit gives holiness, by which man is capable of receiving the righteousness of God.

The account of creation in Genesis was regarded as a type of the way of God with man. The Spirit that moved on the face of the waters was significant of that divine power which substituted for the disorder of human sinfulness the divine order. The herb yielding seed is the soul zealous to do good works. The lights which are set in the firmament signify the gifts of the Spirit. Man was created in the image of God, which signifies that he should be able to know. He was created in the likeness of God so that he might love.

Thus the creation of temporal things became a mirror, in which man saw reflected the conditions of his spiritual life.

No. 1 on the Plan XV. represents the work of the fifth day. There is the firmament above, in which are the sun, moon, and stars. Below are the waters which

have been gathered together; there is also the dry land and there are fruit-bearing trees. Fishes and birds have just come into existence as manifestations of the creative power of the Trinity, represented by the hand, by Christ, and by the dove.

No. 2. Creation of beasts and creeping things.

No. 3. Creation of the body of man, in which the unanimated figure lies on the ground.

No. 4. The still unanimated figure stands before Christ, who conveys the living spirit (*Par.* vii. 137, 144).

No. 5. Adam lies asleep on the ground, while Christ bends over him and cuts the rib from his side.

The sleep of Adam is a type of the sleep of Christ upon the cross, and as from the side of the sleeping Adam came the woman Eve, so from the side of Christ came forth the sacraments of the Church.

No. 6. The final act of creation is that in which Eve rises from the side of Adam. She is animated by the informing hand of Christ laid on her shoulder. We now pass

from creation to the state of mankind in the world.

No. 7. Adam and Eve are placed in Paradise, and they are forbidden to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. In each of these scenes Christ is attended by two angels, and in this panel one of them seems to pray that man may be preserved from the coming temptation which the other indicates by a warning gesture. Adam and Eve stand under a fig-tree, and behind them is the fountain from which come the four rivers of Paradise. This is a figure of the source of grace which is spread over the earth even as the streams flow from the garden to the four quarters of the world.

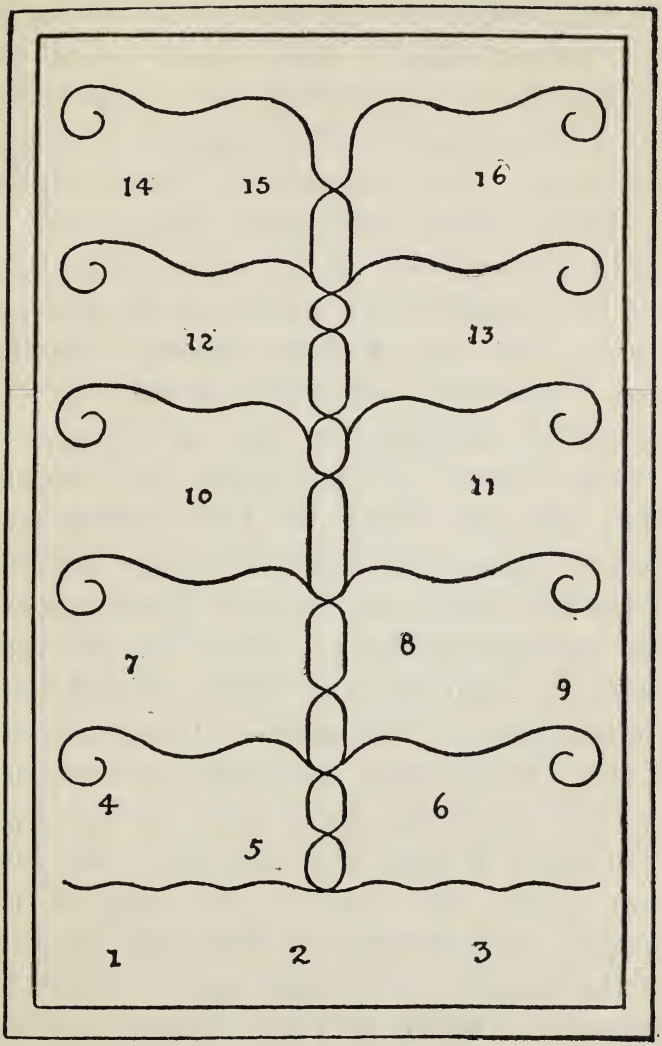
No. 8. Temptation and Fall. The Devil took the form of a serpent. He is twined round the stem of the fig-tree, and the fang of the reptile is thrust towards Eve as she gives the forbidden fruit to Adam. The newly created pair were not content to discern good and evil by commandment, they must learn by experiment, and in their disobedience they became subject to death. Man lost the light of the invisible and became

absorbed in the visible. Salvation was only possible in so far as the inner sense which was thus lost could be restored. It is the history of this restoration which is set forth on the rest of the sculpture. It is completed in the final vision of the fourth pier, where the blessed see God as He is.

No. 9 represents the shame and confusion of Adam and Eve as they hide under the trees from the sight of God, who called Adam as He walked in the garden. In trying to represent the misery of the fall the sculptor has lost the conception of the wider issues involved; he shows us the personal degradation rather than the tragedy of the entrance of disorder into the world.

No. 10. The Expulsion from Paradise. An angel lays his hand on the shoulder of Adam as a warning that they must leave the garden. Already there is a line of flame and a six-winged seraph with a drawn sword guarding against any return.

No. 11. Adam hoeing and Eve spinning. This is the beginning of the work of restoration. It was provided by divine pity that man should be rescued from some of the



Plan XV. — First Pier, Duomo, Orvieto.

physical effects of the fall by the labour of this present life. After that comes the recompense of everlasting rest. Our hearts and bodies must be alike prepared to a holy obedience. The necessity of the discipline of labour was thoroughly recognized in mediæval society. In the rules of St. Basil and St. Benedict work was one of the primary duties, and the former specially provide that devotional exercises should be no excuse for avoiding the duty of labour.

Nos. 12 and 13. The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel and the Death of Abel. These two sons of Adam were regarded as the founders of the two cities, the mystical Jerusalem and the mystical Babylon. Abel was the first-fruits of that Church which existed from the beginning of the world. Cain is a figure of the Jewish people, for as he was separated by the mark set upon him, so the legal ordinances of their law separated the Jews from those who lived in the light of the Gospel. The sacrifice of Abel was the type of the Passion of Christ, and in death he was also a figure of Him. Cain's sacrifice failed for want of a right intention; he is

the type of the Scribes and Pharisees, who fulfilled their duties outwardly but within were full of wickedness. Cain and Abel are opposed as representing the two principles of order and disorder.

Nos. 14, 15, 16 represent a child learning grammar, a man playing on bells, and a student of geometry It is an epitome of the development of human energy. Grammar is the door through which the child passes in his first search after knowledge. Music stands for that principle of proportion and symmetry which enters into every relation, physical, mental and spiritual. It was regarded as a type of the common bond by which all things are composed into one harmonious creation. Geometry was considered as being the study of immovable matter, and its significance consisted in its tendency to lead men to perceive continuous existence and the unchangeable essence that lies beyond.

Grammar, music, and geometry epitomize, therefore, the arts by which man learned to satisfy his wants. Through these arts social life became possible, and so cities were

built and kingdoms were established. The knowledge necessary for practical life led to the higher studies of philosophy, and these in their turn led to the searching out of divine things. That which connects this series of sculptures with the others is the hope that is held out to mankind, even in the fall and the expulsion from Paradise. Every detail of creation was a type of divine mercy. In the scene of the temptation and fall there is the fountain, the type of divine grace. In the murder of Abel there is the type of the sacrifice of Christ. In the scenes of labour and of the invention of the arts there is the beginning of the work of restoration.

The Second Pier

PLAN XVI (p. 283)

The second pier has for its central idea the tree of the human ancestry of the Messiah springing from Jesse (No. 17). In the branches of the tree are described the visions of the prophets in which they foresaw the coming of Christ. The following de-

scription includes only the panels which appear to carry on the main idea of the sculptures. There are at the sides subsidiary scenes, but these have not been identified. No evidence exists which warrants us in deciding what the various scenes on this pillar were intended to represent, nor are the subjects obvious. The following attributions must only be accepted as suggestions, and for these we are in many instances indebted to Mrs. A. H. Smith and Miss Margaret Smith.

Above the figure of Jesse are six righteous kings of the house of David (No. 18). The first king has a harp, and he may be identified as David; the young king above is perhaps Solomon. Those above have been supposed to be Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah. Above these is Madonna (No. 19) and Christ (No. 20). They both bear closed books, for "the words are closed up and sealed till the end of time" (Dan. xii. 9).

The skeleton of Adam in its coffin (No. 21) recalls the saying of St. Paul, "For since by man came death, by man also came the

resurrection of the dead" (1 Cor. xv. 20). The sculpture on this pier is the expression of the vision which the Hebrew prophets had of the coming of the Man who was to liberate humanity from the bondage of death.

There are in the lower courses a number of figures. Nos. 22 and 23 are probably those of prophets and rulers of the people of the Jews. One of these, however, with covered feet and with a crown or garland on his head, has been identified as Virgil, who was supposed to have prophesied of Christ in quoting the vision of the Cumæan Sibyl. (See panel 28.)

Nos. 24 and 25. Balaam's ass sees the angel and Balaam prophesies concerning the star which shall come out of Jacob (Numb. xxiv. 17).

In No. 26 Gideon wrings the water out of the fleece; the dry fleece also lies on the ground. God's choice of Mary when He desired to be incarnate was prefigured by the fleece of Gideon, which alone was wet; so Mary alone of the many daughters of Israel was found worthy. The water wrung

out of the fleece was a figure of the grace which comes by Christ, while the dry fleece signified the people of the Jews.

No. 27 represents the consecration of David by the prophet Samuel. This passing from the care of the sheepfolds to the ruling of men was a type of how the Gospel was offered to the Gentiles, when the Jews, the sheep of the flock, would not hear it. Jesse, the father of David, holds up his hands in the attitude of prayer, as if he had a vision of the descent of the Spirit on his son (1 Sam. xvi. 6–13).

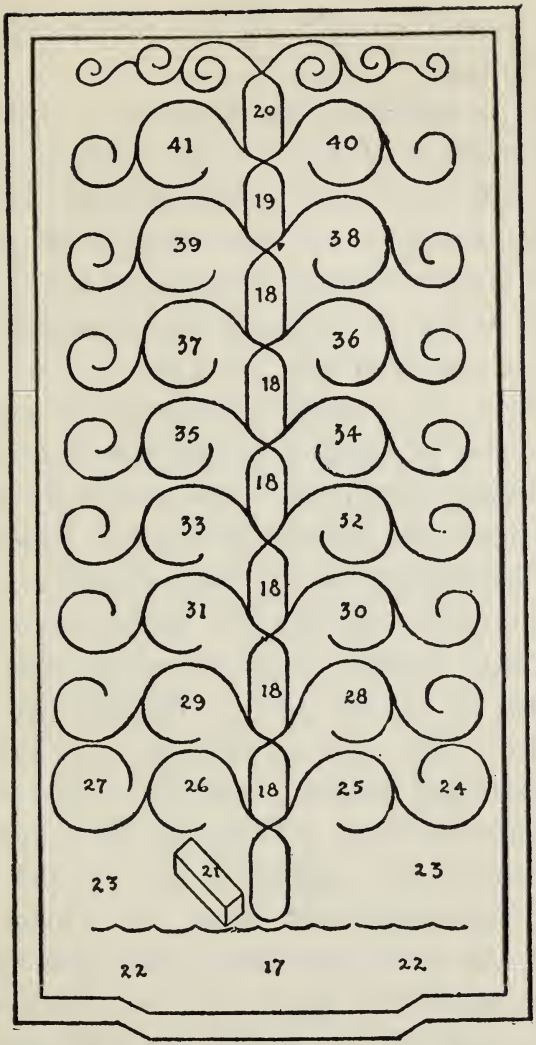
No. 28 has been identified as representing the prophecy of the Cumæan Sibyl quoted by Virgil. An old man presents the Child to two women, who hold between them a globe. The reference made by Virgil to the Sibylline verse runs as follows: "The last age of the Cumæan song comes, the great series of ages takes rise from the beginning. Now the Virgin returns, now the kingdoms of Saturn return. Now a new lineage is sent down from heaven. Be favourable, O pure Lucina, to the boy at his birth, through whom the iron age will first be brought to an end, and

the golden age will arise over the whole world."

No. 29. Christ in the act of blessing appears to a number of men and women who hold up their hands in adoration. It is probably a description of Isaiah ix. 2: "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined." (See Matt. iv. 12–16 and Ephes. v. 8.)

No. 30 is probably a comment on Dan. ii. 34, in which the prophet sees a stone cut without hands. It became a great mountain and filled the whole earth, as by faith in Christ all the ends of the earth are filled.

No. 31 is a reference to Ezekiel xlvii. 1–13, in which waters issue from under the threshold of the house of the Lord. These waters make a great river going down into the desert and into the sea, healing its waters. Everything shall live whithersoever it comes, and on its banks shall grow every tree for meat, whose leaf shall not wither, neither shall the fruit thereof fail (see also Rev. xxii. 1–2). The windows and doors of the



Plan XVI. — Second Pier, Duomo, Orvieto

church to the right of the panel are filled with foliage.

No. 32 probably represents the childhood of Immanuel (Isa. vii. 14). Below we see the results of the establishment of this power, typified by the change of nature which causes beasts, savage and tame alike, to live together in peace and harmony (see Isa. xi. 1–9, also Matt. i. 23).

No. 33 is the vision of Ezekiel, i. 4–28, in which the prophet sees the likeness of the four living creatures. The sculpture shows us Christ in an aureole in the act of blessing, and surrounded by the four creatures. The living creature having the likeness of a man represents reason; the creature with the likeness of an ox stands for the spirit of sacrifice; the lion symbol is the type of fortitude and justice; and the eagle stands for contemplation. Thus the four symbols represented the light of the Gospel, and taken together they stood for Christ. It was a vision of the time when the Gospel would take the place of law, and when Christ would do away with its ordinances.

No. 34 represents the story in 2 Maccabees

iii. 14–40. The priests of the Temple at Jerusalem acted as guardians of money belonging to widows and orphans. King Antiochus sent Heliodorus to take this treasure. When the latter was in the treasury with his guards there appeared a horse with a terrible rider. Heliodorus was smitten to the ground, and two young men, notable in strength and beautiful in glory, beat him with many stripes. On the intercession of Onias, the high priest, his life was granted to him, and he offered a sacrifice and vowed vows, seeing that he had thus escaped. When the king asked Heliodorus who else should be sent, he answered that if there were any enemy or any conspirator against the king he should go, for there was about the place a power of God. The chastisement of Heliodorus was regarded as a type of Christ driving out the money changers from the Temple.

No. 35. This panel probably represents the prophecy of Isaiah ii. and iii., in which the destruction of Jerusalem is foreseen as the result of the backsliding of the nation. The particular part chosen for representation

may be that spoken of in Isaiah iii. 13–14: "The Lord standeth up to plead, and standeth to judge the people. The Lord will enter into judgment with the ancients of his people and the princes thereof: for ye have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses."

No. 36 is probably a reference to Zech. xi. 12, "So they weighed for my hire thirty pieces of silver," which was understood by the commentators as a prophecy of the betrayal. We are also reminded by such passages as 1 Samuel ii. 3 and Proverbs xvi. 2, that God's ways are not as man's ways, and that it is God who weigheth the spirits.

No. 37 is probably a representation of the vision in 2 Esdras ix. 38–47 and x. 1–17, in which a woman sorrowing for her son comes out of the city into the field, and mourns and fasts so that she may die. The woman (2 Esdras x. 44–49) is Zion; she mourns for the City of Jerusalem, whose destruction is signified by the death of the woman's son. Then is shown to the prophet (2 Esdras x. 50–54), the future brightness of the glory and the comeliness of the beauty of the city

of the Most High, even as it had been shown to the woman in the field (2 Esdras x. 16) that she should again receive her son and be praised among women.

No. 38 is the Crucifixion. This is not a representation of the historical event, but rather a recognition of the prophetic view that it was the victory on the cross by which the bonds of sin were to be loosed, and the whole world to be reconciled. The sun and the moon, the only details of the picture, recall Psalms cxlviii. 2–3. They were also supposed to represent the two Testaments and likewise the divine and human nature united in Christ.

In No. 39 the "man Gabriel" appears to the prophet Daniel (ix. 21–26), and shows him when "the anointed one, the prince" shall come, and how "the anointed one" shall be cut off.

No. 40 probably refers to the declaration made in Malachi iv. 2, "But unto you that fear My name, shall the sun of righteousness arise with healing in His wings."

No. 41. The Archangel Gabriel in Annunciation. He flies towards Madonna, who

sits in the central line below Christ. Mary raises her hand as she says, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word" (Luke i. 38).

This series of prophecies is remarkable, inasmuch as it represents the spirit of the kingdom of Christ to which the world looked forward, rather than any mere accordance between the terms of prophecy and the actual events of the life of Christ. It would have been easy to take each fact as described on the third pier and give its exact prophetical parallel on the second. Something more than that has been attempted: the prophecies of the second pier have a direct bearing on the coming of Christ; but there is also everywhere a suggestion of the spiritual results that are to mark the new order.

The new horizon is the subject of the Sibyl's prophecy (No. 28); the new spirit, which is to animate it, is the note of the vision of Ezekiel (No. 33). The descent of the Spirit and the gift of grace are foreseen in the consecration of David (No. 27), and the dew which Gideon wrings out of the

fleece (No. 26). The new life, which the gospel is to bring with it, is described by the river which brings healing to all things (No. 31). The scene from Isaiah (No. 29) shows that this new life will no longer be lived in a world of shadows, but in the full light of the skill and understanding which Gabriel comes to give to Daniel (No. 39). The stone which fills the earth (No. 30) is a figure of all-pervading faith; the prophet preaches hope to the mother who has lost her son, and who is to regain him (No. 37); while in the crucifixion (No. 38) there is the supreme sacrifice prompted by love. The stories of Balaam (Nos. 24, 25) and Heliodorus (No. 34) illustrate the power of the Spirit when it is opposed to the worldly element in men's lives, and the prophecy of Isaiah (No. 35) warns against a selfish oppression of the poor. Finally there is the contrast between the disobedience ending in the death of Adam, and the obedience of Mary, which leads to the fulfilment of all prophecy and to the beginning of the reign of the spiritual and harmonious life, which is the note of the new era.

The Third Pier

PLAN XVII (p. 293)

We now turn to the third pier, on which is sculptured a history of the life of Christ. The doctors of the Middle Ages taught that they who desired to behold the glory of Christ's divine nature must follow the journey of His mortal life; we have therefore such epitomes as the one before us. The choice of subjects, limited as it is pretty closely to those connected with the Nativity and Passion, indicates that the intention was to direct the mind to the Incarnation.

Mediæval thinkers were accustomed to regard mankind as forming a mystical body which existed for some purpose or end, and which was directed towards it by some vivifying principle. The purpose or end of mankind was reunion with the Creator, and the vivifying principle was Christ, who was conceived of as the head of the mystical body composed of mankind as a whole. The sculpture of this third pier was intended to explain this vivifying principle in action, and to show how it affects the life of each

individual man. The sculpture springs from the sleeping form of Abraham (No. 42), and it records the fulfilment of the promise made to him: " In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed " (Gen. xii. 3).

The tree which branches out from this root has in its main stem the spiritual ancestry of Christ — the prophets (No. 43), who foresaw His coming, and who predicted the salvation which He was to bring.

It is the tree of the gospel. It is the tree which through man's disobedience had become the tree of death, and has now become the tree of life.

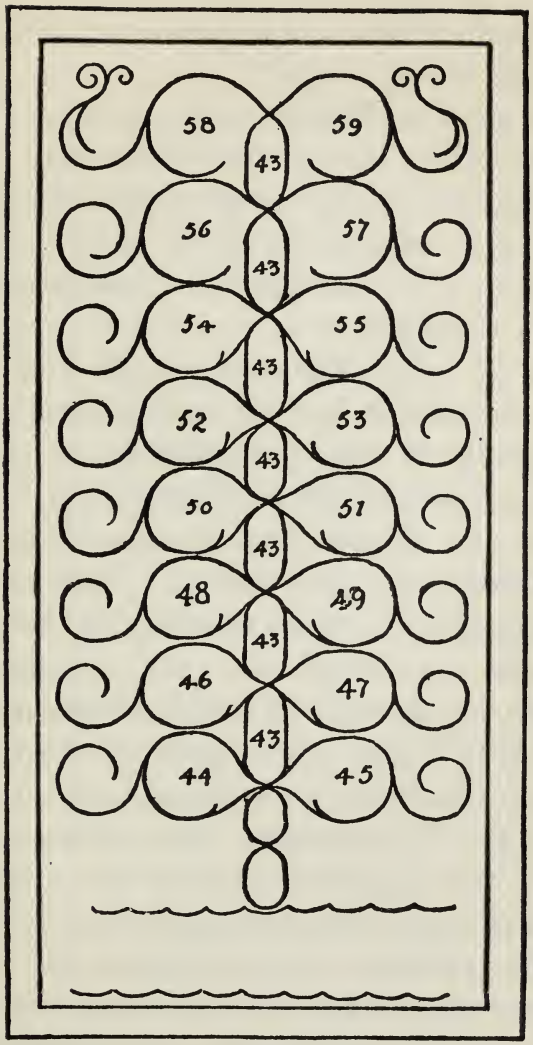
We begin at the lower left-hand corner with the Annunciation (No. 44). This scene marks the reconcilement of the world with God. The true light has descended from heaven. The hopes and desires of the patriarchs and prophets have been heard. Madonna bears a closed book, which the author of Isa. xxix. 11 says the learned men of Jerusalem would not read and the unlearned could not read. The prophecy usually associated with the Annunciation is that in Isa. vii. 14.

No. 45. The Visitation was connected with the prophecy of Obadiah i. 1. The scene portrayed was the occasion of the Magnificat. This song of rejoicing marked the contrast between the lowliness of Mary and the pride of our first parents.

No. 46 is the Nativity. The relative prophecy is that of Isa. ix. 6. The ox and the ass were by some considered as types of the Jewish and Gentile nations who were united in the birth of the Son of Justice.

No. 47. The Adoration of the Magi. This was regarded as the call of the Gentiles. In these three Magi, all people worship the Author of the universe. Many prophecies were considered to be predictions of their visit, the most usual one being Ps. lxxii. 15. Gold was offered to the Child in His character as King. Myrrh was offered to His humanity and incense to His divinity.

No. 48. The Presentation in the Temple prophesied in Mal. iii. 1. The old age of Simeon was a figure of the "old man," Simeon bearing the Child was the assumption of the "new man." It was a figure of



Plan XVII. — Third Pier, Duomo, Orvieto.

the passing from the shadow of the law to the light of the gospel.

No. 49. The Flight into Egypt (see Ps. lv. 6–8 and Hos. xi. 1). The Child went down into Egypt so that grace might appear to the people among whom the slaying of the Lamb first foreshadowed the health-bringing sign of the cross.

No. 50. The Massacre of the Innocents was predicted in Joel iii. 19, and was a foreshadowing of the persecutions which the Church was destined to pass through.

No. 51. Christ among the Doctors is associated with Jer. viii. 9. This incident was considered as a warning of how the darkness of unbelief not only prevents the light from penetrating to the understanding, but confuses the apprehension of the knowledge on which the unbeliever prides himself.

No. 52. The Baptism. See 2 Kings v. 10. Christ was baptized not that He might be cleansed but so that He might sanctify water as the symbol of purification for man. The opening of the heavens, when the dove descended, was significant of the opening of the heavenly kingdom to the regenerate soul.

No. 53. The Temptation. The relative prophecy is found in Nahum i. 11. In the history of Christ's temptation men saw the struggle which they themselves had to pass through. They thought of it as inevitable, they accepted it as a necessary element in the strengthening of character, they saw in it the opportunity of self-knowledge, they rejoiced in it, for they thought that victory brought the crown of life.

No. 54. The Triumphal Entry, Zech. ix. 9. This scene signified the entry which Christ was to make into heaven, while the lament over Jerusalem foreshadowed the grief for the souls who would not hear the message of the gospel.

No. 55. The Betrayal, Ps. xli. 9. The choice made by Judas is a figure of the choice made by those who prefer material or worldly shadows to spiritual and celestial realities.

No. 56. The Flagellation, Ps. xxxviii. 18. It was thought that in suffering from the crown of thorns Christ cancelled the curse which had fallen on the earth for the sin of Adam. He who though blameless suffered

scourging showed what sinful men ought to do in punishment of their evildoing.

No. 57. The Crucifixion, Isa. liii. 5. This is an abstract of the usual representation of the scene with Madonna and St. John at the foot of the cross and the inscription on the tree. The view of the early Church as to the significance of the Crucifixion is fitly summed up in the saying of Leo the Great, "For who could overcome the world's hatred, the blasts of temptation, the terror of persecutors, had not Christ in the name of all and for all said to the Father, 'Thy will be done'?"

No. 58. The Maries at the Tomb, Ps. cxxxix. 18. Dante considers the three women as figures of the Epicureans, the Stoics, and the Peripatetics — that is, those who live in the active life. They search for their beatitude in the things of this present world of unrealities — that is, in the empty tomb. The angel who represents the divine element in man directs them to contemplation as the true beatitude. For though an imperfect state of blessedness is found in the exercise of the moral virtues

of the active life beatitude is only perfected when the intellect contemplates God and ponders on Him in His purpose.

No. 59. "Noli me tangere." Mary Magdalene was regarded as a type of the Gentile Church, which did not believe, until after Christ had ascended into heaven, and hence it was supposed came the command.

The sculptures of the third pier show us the fulfilment of the expectations of the old world, and present a forecast of the spiritual life which was to be the vivifying principle of the new.

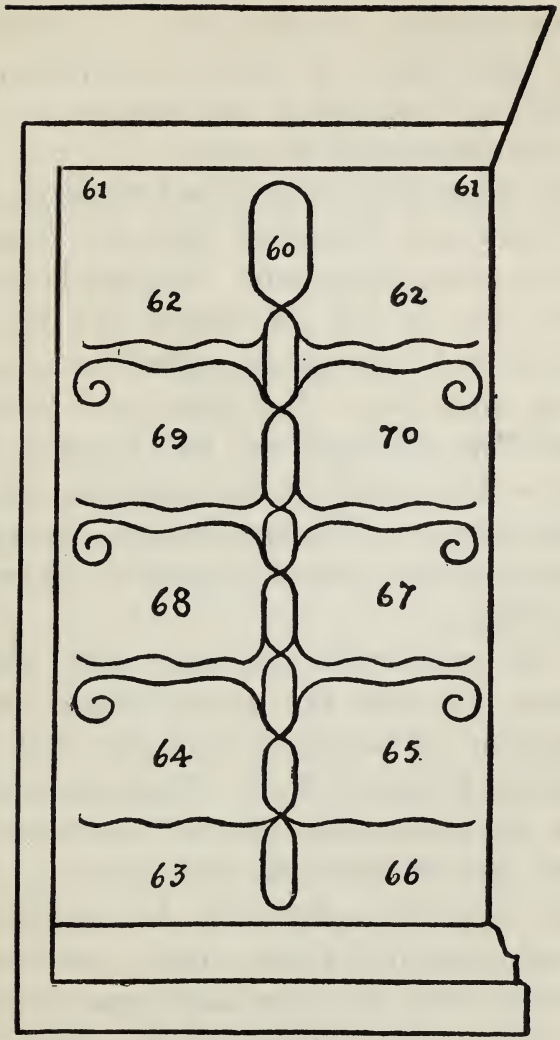
The Fourth Pier

The fourth pier is sculptured with the concluding acts of the great drama of human life. Like the others, the design takes the form of a tree — it is the vine of the Lord. Its branches bear much fruit — a symbol of the souls who are gathered to the communion of heaven. *In the upper part of the pier* we see "that most brilliant senate set in this most splendid senate-house."

PLAN XVIII (p. 299)

In the centre Christ is seated (No. 60) surrounded by the choirs of angels; to the right and left are the symbols of the Passion, and beyond are angels (No. 61) sounding the trumpets which summon to the Resurrection. On the left of Christ sit the prophets with St. John the Baptist (No. 62), and on the right are the apostles with Madonna (No. 62).

At the bottom of the pier the dead are rising out of the tombs (No. 63). In the panel above this (No. 64) the elect are assembling, and in the panel to the spectator's right is the company of the damned (No. 65). Below (in panel No. 66) is Hell. Between these lower sculptures and the upper part of the design where Christ is seated there are four panels (Nos. 67, 68, 69, 70) in which the blessed are shown approaching the throne; they are guided and encouraged by angels. In No. 69 there is an assembly of men, including St. Francis and a Pope, supposed to be Nicholas IV., while women are gathered in No. 70.



Plan XVIII. — Fourth Pier, Duomo, Orvieto

This company of the saints is about to enjoy the vision of the divine glory, regarded by mediæval speculation as the true refreshment of the soul.

For those who have found their goal in the transitory things of this life there is also an everlasting state. We see it in the panels No. 65 and 66, where the damned are gathered together to suffer the tortures of hell (No. 66). The artist has tried to realize the thought of St. Gregory the Great — how great is the confusion of the wicked when the Eternal Judge is discerned without, and sin is set in review before the eyes within.

In its relation to the other piers this is the one in which the whole scheme comes to fruition. The Creation on the first pier is followed by the Fall. Then begins the work of restoration in the institution of labour and of the arts and sciences. The second pier shows the early development of the spiritual life of the world, and how it advanced with the hope and expectation of a Messiah, as its principle of life. The third pier continues the history in the light of

the fulfilment of all hopes and promises and under the influence of the example of the life of Christ among men. The goal of all striving, the end of all effort, is reached on the fourth pier, where the blessed stand in the sight of God and enjoy the full communion of saints.

The Choir

Ugolino di Prete Ilario was commissioned to paint the frescoes in the choir in 1370. He died in 1384, leaving the work unfinished.

Giacomo di Bologna undertook to paint here in 1491, and Pinturicchio was employed in 1492. In 1496 he painted two of the doctors. Antonio da Viterbo (1497–1499) is supposed to have painted the angel in the Annunciation and some other parts of the frescoes. The series is concerned with the coming of Christ and with the life of the Virgin.

The fresco in the vault (a) where Christ appears surrounded by Seraphim and Cherubim strikes the dominant note. In the vault to the right (c) there is the mani-

festation of the Holy Spirit. Rays descend upon the earth as a symbol of the gifts of "Ineffable Charity."

In the lunettes below the vault, and to the right and left (f and g, Plan XIX.) are the prophets. On the side walls are the apostles, evangelists, and doctors. The rest of the frescoes deal with the life of the Virgin Mary as the direct and intimate link between the human and the divine natures.

PLAN XIX (p. 307)

We turn now to examine the details of the frescoes: —

(a) *On the vault* over the entrance is Christ with Seraphim and Cherubim.

(c) *On the vault* to the right of Christ, the dove of the Holy Spirit spreads the rays of its power over all the people of the earth.

(d) *On the vault* to the left of Christ are the orders of angels.

On the side walls of the choir to the left — No. 1, St. John the Evangelist; No. 2, St. Matthew; No. 3, St. Augustine; No. 4,

St. Jerome. *On the right wall* — No. 32, St. Mark; No. 33, St. Gregory. The defaced parts of the wall at Nos. 30 and 31 no doubt had figures of St. Luke and St. Ambrose.

The circular window (A) to the left has traces of the apostles, each contributing one of the parts of the Creed. The paintings round the window to the right (B) have been destroyed.

The spiritual forces of the old and the new dispensations are suggested in the lunettes (f) and (g) over the side walls. *To the right*, at (f), there are Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; Isaiah, Jeremiah, and St. John the Baptist. *To the left*, at (g), there are the martyrs, SS. Laurence and Stephen; the martyrs and virgins, SS. Lucy and Agnes; St. Martin, who parted his robe with the beggar; and St. Sylvester and Constantine, the Pope and the emperor who established Christianity in the West. The same contrast between the old and the new is kept up in the frescoes round the lancet window in the eastern wall. *To the right* are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Melchisedek, Joseph, Moses, and Job. *To the left*,

SS. Ignatius, Vincentius, Nicholas, and SS. Mary Magdalene, Catherine, Antonina, and Agnes.

We must next consider the pictures relating to the life of the Virgin. They begin with the story of her father and mother, Joachim and Anna. Joachim was of the city of Nazareth, and Anna was a Bethlehemite. They lived a simple and charitable life, giving a third of their goods to the Temple, a third to the needy, and a third they kept for their own necessities. At the feast of the dedication Joachim's offering was refused, as he was childless. In his discomfiture he went to dwell with his hersdmen, and thither an angel was sent in answer to his prayers. A daughter was promised to him, and he was bidden to go to the Golden Gate at Jerusalem, where he should meet his wife, Anna. To her likewise there was sent an angel, who gave the same message. Thus when they met they knew that the promise was confirmed to them. In like fashion as Sarah bare Isaac in her old age, and as Rebecca after a long time became the mother of Joseph, so to Anna

there came, as the special gift of God, the child Mary.

No. 5. Joachim is driven out from the congregation. An angel appears to him.

No. 6. An angel appears to Anna.

No. 7. Joachim and Anna meet at the Golden Gate.

No. 8. Nativity of the Virgin.

No. 9. When three years of age she was dedicated to the service of God, and was brought to the Temple. Until she was fourteen years old she lived within the precincts, being visited daily by angels. When she reached the proper age she refused to leave the Temple and to be given in marriage. The high priest, therefore, by command of a voice from the ark, called together the men of the house of David, and when their rods were laid on the altar a dove rested on the one belonging to Joseph, and he was betrothed to Mary (No. 10).

No. 11. The Annunciation. The willing submission of Mary to the message of the angel was an evidence of her deep humility, as opposed to the sin of pride (*Purg.* x. 40).

No. 12. The Salutation. The haste with

which Mary set out to visit Elizabeth was used as an example against the sloth which benumbs spiritual life (see *Purg.* xviii. 102). Her love for Elizabeth and her readiness to serve were cited by S. Bonaventura as evidence of that charity which prompts man to love his neighbour.

No. 13. The chastity of Mary is revealed to Joseph in a vision. In *Purg.* xxv. 128 she appears to the souls who are being purified as the symbol of this virtue.

No. 14. Joseph takes Mary to his own house.

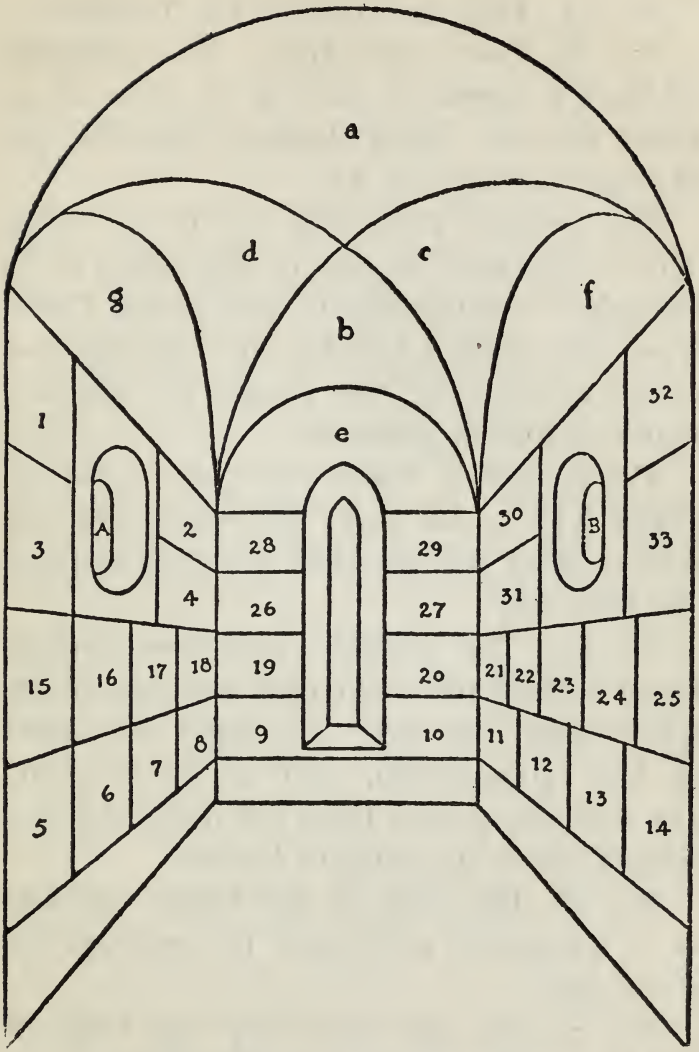
No. 15. The Nativity of Christ. The lowly circumstance of the birth of the Child is set before the avaricious in *Purg.* xx. 19 as an example.

No. 16. Adoration of the Shepherds. No. 17. The Circumcision. No. 18. The Adoration of the Magi. No. 19. The Presentation in the Temple. No. 20. The Flight into Egypt.

No. 21. Defaced.

No. 22. The Child with the Doctors in the Temple.

No. 23. Joseph and Mary miss the Child.



Plan XIX. — Choir of the Duomo, Orvieto

No. 24. They find Him in the Temple.

No. 25. They chide Him. The meekness of Mary's reproof is used as an example to those who are being cleansed from the sin of anger in *Purg.* xv. 83.

The frescoes from Nos. 15 to 25 (Plan XIX.) represent the life of the Virgin in its immediate relationship to that of the Child. They also suggest how her life was regarded as an example of the virtues by which a man's nature is perfected.

The history is taken up again in No. 26 (Plan XIX.). An angel announces that the soul of Mary will be taken from her body on the third day.

No. 27. The apostles, who were miraculously called from where they were preaching, kneel round the bed. The night was spent in holy communion, and in the morning the soul was parted from the body and was carried up in the arms of Christ.

No. 28. The body of the Virgin was laid in a sepulchre, and there it remained for three days.

No. 29. On the third day the body of the Virgin was raised from the tomb.

(e. Plan XIX.) In the lunette over the window is the Ascension of the Virgin.

(b.) The Coronation of the Virgin. This consummation was regarded as the fulfilment of the saying in Rev. iii. 21, "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with Me on My throne." It was a pledge of that glory which is to be the lot of all faithful souls.

These frescoes vary in merit. Christ receiving Madonna in the scene of the coronation, the figure of the Virgin in the Sposalizio, Christ among the doctors, and the Child found by His parents are all fair examples of an art that does not take a first place. On the other hand, the expulsion of Joachim and the return of Joseph and Mary to their house are coarse and unsatisfactory. If, however, the paintings be judged as a whole and from some little distance, it will be seen that the clear shadowless colour and the simple dignity of the forms yield a most harmonious result. This *naïf* art, untroubled with the problems that beset the men of the Renaissance, relies for its charm on the simplicity and directness of its means. It finds a fit object in the simple story of

Madonna, in which S. Bonaventura saw reflected, as in a mirror, all that makes for goodness and truth.

To the right of the entrance to the choir is the Cappella de Magi, for which Sammicheli, who was Capo Maestro (1514–1521), furnished a design. When Clement VII. brought San Gallo to Orvieto after the sack of Rome, he also made a design. Both were submitted to the Pope, who decided in favour of that by Sammicheli. In 1535 Simone Mosca was employed, having for his assistants his son Francesco, a youth of fifteen, and Raffaello da Montelupo. The bas-relief is due to them, and the work was finished in 1546.

To the left of the choir is a relief of the Visitation, designed by Simone Mosca in 1546. His son Francesco worked at it for a short time, and then left. He was recalled in 1550, and, with the help of Ippolito Scalza and others, the work was finished in 1554.

CHAPTER V

THE CAPPELLA DELLA MADONNA DI S. BRIZIO

THE chapel to the south of the Duomo is known as the Cappella della Madonna di San Brizio from a miracle-working picture which is still over the altar. The building was begun in 1408. At the sides of the window in the end wall of the chapel are the figures of two bishops supposed to represent SS. Brizio and Costanzo. S. Brizio was bishop of Spoleto or Assisi in the first century, and St. Peter is said to have given him power to consecrate pastors in the churches he should visit. S. Costanzo was a bishop of Perugia; he was martyred in the second century. In 1447 the painting of the chapel was begun by Fra Angelico, who painted the Christ in the vault over the high altar and the group of prophets in the vault to

the right; he is also said to have drawn the design for the group of martyrs. After Fra Angelico was called away nothing was done for many years. Negotiations with Perugino fortunately led to no result. It was in 1499 that Luca Signorelli was employed to finish the vaults of the roof, and in 1500 he was commissioned to paint the walls. The work was still going on in the year 1504, and there was money due to him so late as 1509.

Luca Signorelli was a citizen of Cortona, born there about 1441. He took an active part in the government of the town, and Vasari says that he was "a man of upright life, and sincere in all things. He lived splendidly, and had pleasure in clothing himself handsomely." He survived both Leonardo da Vinci and Raphael, dying, as it is believed, in 1523. He was a pupil of Piero della Francesca, and it is supposed that he also came under the influence of Antonio Pollaiuolo, a Florentine, who was trained as a goldsmith. It is true of nearly all the great Italian masters that they excelled in fresco, but of none is it more true

SIGNORELLI AND FRA ANGELICO

than of Signorelli. Many of his altar-pieces painted on panel are in existence, but none of them reveal to us the intellectual quality and the imaginative power which is found in the frescoes at Orvieto. Signorelli is not a great colourist; he has no suave Umbrian sentiment, nor does he see the spacious distances of Perugino. He realizes himself fully only in terms of human life. He gains expression for the deepest and most far-reaching relations of existence in the human form. No monument of the time is so thoroughly characteristic of the finer developments of the Renaissance, and no other monument of the period (with the possible exception of the Sistine Chapel) gives such a sense of power and strength.

The note of the scheme in this chapel is Christ in Judgment.

This central figure is preceded by a history of mankind arranged round the great poets of antiquity — Dante being included. These pictures are followed by the signs of the coming judgment, including the reign of Antichrist, and the resurrection from the dead. Then we have the judgment, and

finally the everlasting life of beatitude or punishment.

The visitor is advised to begin by studying the pictures in the following order: —

1 (Plan XX.). The pictures in small medallions grouped round the ancient poets and Dante, distinguished on the plan by letters from B to L 2.

2. The signs of coming judgments. Confusion (i., Plan XXI.). The reign of Antichrist (ii., Plan XX.). The destruction by fire (iii., Plan XXI.).

3. The Resurrection of the Dead (iv., Plan XX.).

4. Christ in judgment, Plan XX. (v.) attended by the spiritual forces of the Jewish and Christian dispensations, patriarchs (vii.), prophets (viii.), apostles (ix.), doctors (x.), martyrs (xi.), virgins (xii.).

5. The wicked carried off by devils, Plan XX. (xiii.), and tormented in hell (xiv.).

6. The blessed crowned by angels, Plan XX. (xv.), and led up to heaven (xvi.).

We begin with the pictures grouped round the ancient poets. No names are given to the poets, but the nature of the paintings,

FRA ANGELICO. — CHRIST IN JUDGMENT

and the scene in *Inferno* iv. 89–90, where Dante describes his meeting with the sages, make it probable that they are Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Lucan, and Dante.

In addition to these there are two others — one perhaps may be Empedocles, the other is destroyed.

On entering the chapel, Empedocles, Homer, Dante, and Virgil are to the left, Lucan, Horace, and Ovid being on the right. Round each of these, as central figures, there are small panels, generally dealing with some scene in their writings more or less illustrative of the large frescoes above. In the case of Virgil there is an exception; the small illustrations are not taken from his own poems, but from scenes in *Purgatory* where Virgil was acting as Dante's guide or companion.

To the left, on the entrance wall, there is a painting which has been supposed to represent Empedocles (P 2, Plan XXI.). He looks up at the scene of destruction and dissolution above him. Some have thought that the philosopher sees in this a realization of his theory of the moving forces of love

and hate. When hate becomes active, the ordinary bond uniting nature is dissolved. In *Inferno* xii. 44, Dante attributes to Empedocles the idea that the alternating forces of love and hate cause the world "oftentimes to be converted into chaos."

PLANS XX (p. 323) AND XXI (p. 327)

The first poet on the side wall to the left is Homer. Round him are three small pictures (B, C, and D). They have been supposed to represent scenes from *Iliad*, xviii. The shield of Achilles is made by Hephaistos, and on it there is figured a judgment scene supposed to be that painted at D. It may be a pendant to the tragedy enacted in the picture C. The figure at B has been identified as that of Achilles arousing himself to prepare for the rescue of the body of Patroklos. These attributions are not convincing.

Round the figure of Dante there are four scenes from *Purgatory*.

(F.) Cato meets Virgil and Dante on the shore of the island of Purgatory. Virgil, when challenged by Cato, says they are

there, in virtue of the prayers of a lady, who descended from heaven. He declares that he was sent as guide, so that Dante might reach salvation by experience of guilt in hell, and now they go to see the souls who are being purified (*Purg.* i. 43–84).

(G.) In the foreground Virgil points out to Dante the boat bringing souls to the island of Purgatory. It is impelled by an angel of God, whose light is so brilliant that Dante shades his eyes (*Purg.* ii. 39). In the centre of the picture Dante obeys the command of Virgil (*Purg.* ii. 28) to bend his knees in the presence of the angel, who has just guided the boat-load of souls to the shore. In the background is the meeting between Casella and Dante (*Purg.* ii. 76–111), ending in the indignant protest of Cato against the halt which the souls make on their way to the mount of cleansing.

(H.) Virgil asks the way upwards from the souls they meet. Dante meets King Manfred (*Purg.* iii. 113), who was killed at the battle of Beneventum (1266). The king sends a message to his daughter Constance to comfort her. He confesses that his sins

were horrible, but Infinite Goodness has arms spread so wide, that all who return may be gathered within them.

(I.) Virgil and Dante begin to climb. They mount on broken rock, and need both hands and feet (*Purg.* iv. 33). At the top of the narrow way they sit down to rest. Dante wonders why the sun strikes them on the left (they are in the southern hemisphere) (*Purg.* iv. 57). In the background they find Belacqua sitting in the shadow of the rock (*Purg.* vi. 104), more negligent than even if Idleness were his sister (*Purg.* iv. 110–112).

The next of the great men is Virgil; he is surrounded by scenes from the *Purgatory* of Dante.

(K.) Virgil reproves Dante for halting to listen to the souls, who are curious and wonder to see a form that casts a shadow (*Purg.* v. 1–18). A number of souls sing the "Miserere" (*Purg.* v. 24). Again the souls marvel at the shadow which is cast by Dante. They send two messengers to inquire of the condition of the visitors (*Purg.* vi. 29–30).

(L.) The souls gather round Dante.

Among the crowd are Benincasa of Arezzo, slain by the brother of one who had suffered while Benincasa was Podestà of Siena; Cione, of the family of the Tarlati, drowned at the battle of Campaldino; Federigo Novello, a Pisan; and Pier della Broccia, chamberlain of Philip III. of France. These all desire that prayer may be made, so that their time of purification on the mount shall come quickly (*Purg.* vi. 1–28). In the background Sordello embraces the knees of Virgil when the latter declares himself to be a Mantuan. Virgil bends over him and returns the salutation.

(M.) Sordello again embraces Virgil's knees (*Purg.* vii. 15), and the poet says that he has lost the light of the sun, not for doing, but for not doing. In the centre of the picture Sordello explains that the darkness of night prevents any one from climbing the mountain. He leads them to a point where they can see the souls of Rodolph the emperor and other rulers, who had allowed too great a weight to the things of this world. The kings sing the "Salve Regina" (*Purg.* vii. 67–136).

(N.) Virgil, Dante, and Sordello hear the souls of the rulers sing "Te lucis ante" (*Purg.* viii. 13). Two angels with flaming swords guard the valley against the serpent (*Purg.* viii. 39 and viii. 98). In the background Dante talks with Nino Visconti of Pisa (*Purg.* viii. 53) and Conrad Malaspini (*Purg.* viii. 118).

The series of small panels dealing with the purification of souls is continued on part of the end wall of the chapel.

(O.) Dante, having fallen asleep (*Purg.* ix. 10), awakens to find himself at the gate of Purgatory (*Purg.* ix. 39). While asleep, Dante has seen a vision of an eagle, who bears him aloft (*Purg.* ix. 29–30), and Virgil explains that Lucia has appeared to him and borne Dante upwards to where he now is (*Purg.* ix. 61). To the left of the picture Dante kneels before the angel, who sits at the gate (*Purg.* ix. 82).

(P.) Virgil and Dante enter the first circle on the mountain of Purgatory through a cleft in the rock (*Purg.* x. 7). On the sides of the path they see sculptured three examples of humility, viz., the Annunciation

(*Purg.* x. 40), David dancing before the ark (*Purg.* x. 65), and Trajan, who did justice to the poor widow (*Purg.* x. 74). At the lower right-hand corner they see the souls of the proud being purged, who bear heavy weights, which bow them toward the earth.

(Q.) Virgil and Dante meet three souls who are being purged from pride: Guglielmo Aldobrandeschi (*Purg.* xi. 59), Oderigi of Gubbio (*Purg.* xi. 79), and Provenzano Salviani (*Purg.* xi. 121). These three souls are supposed to represent the arrogance of the patrician (Aldobrandeschi), the vain-glory of the artist (Oderigi), and the ambition of the politician (Salviani).

This ends the series of small panels dealing with the purification of the human soul. We need not be surprised that the only specific sin dealt with is that of pride, as it was held to be the root of all evil. The pictures dealing with these scenes of preparation for the enjoyment of heaven are under the large frescoes, in which are gathered the saints who receive their crowns and are helped on their way heavenwards by the angels.

(R.) A subject of uncertain significance.

(S.) With the help of Cupid, Venus causes Dido to become enamoured of Æneas.

(T.) Herakles is forced to cross a stream with his wife Deianeira. Nessus offers to bear her across. The Centaur tries to carry her off instead, and is shot by Herakles. Nessus gives her a garment soaked in his blood as a charm against the infidelity of her husband. Deianeira becoming jealous sends Herakles a robe on which there is some of the blood. It poisons the hero, who dies on a funeral pyre. He is carried to Olympos and made immortal.

(U.) This may represent the war between Herakles and Hippokoön.

(V.) Devils torment the damned.

(W.) Andromeda is exposed on a rock. Kepheus, her father, prays that Perseus will rescue her from the monster. Perseus slays the dragon, and claims Andromeda as his bride (see *Metamorphoses* iv.).

(X.) Phineus, to whom Andromeda has been promised in marriage, breaks in upon the bridal banquet. Perseus when nearly overwhelmed by numbers shows the Gor-

Plan XX. — Cappella della Madonna, di S. Brizio, Duomo, Orvieto

gon's Head, and turns his enemies to stone (*Metamorphoses* v.).

The small panels from T to X are upon

the end wall of the chapel, and under the large fresco where the souls of the damned suffer. Passing to the side wall the two poets Ovid and Horace are under the fresco where the devils seize and carry off the souls of the damned.

The following panels surround the picture of Ovid: —

(Z.) Typhœus having dared to hope for an abode with the gods, is buried under the island of Sicily. The struggles of Typhœus cause earthquakes, and Pluto goes forth in his chariot to see if his kingdom of the underworld is in danger (*Metamorphoses* v.).

(A 2.) Diana and Pallas counsel Proserpina against love. Venus moves Cupid to shoot his dart at Pluto so that he may be touched by love of Proserpina, lest she, like Diana and Pallas, should renounce the empire of Venus (*Metamorphoses* v.).

(B 2.) Proserpina is beloved by Pluto, and while she is gathering flowers he carries her off in his chariot (*Metamorphoses* v.).

(C 2.) Keres goes in search of her daugh-

ter. Cupid points the way (*Metamorphoses* v.).

The following panels are painted round the picture of Horace: —

(E 2.) Eurydike having died of a snake bite, her husband, Orpheus, goes down into the underworld to recover her. He plays so sweetly on his lyre, that they who dwell there are charmed from their usual tasks. Pluto grants Eurydike to him on condition that he does not turn back to look at her.

(F 2.) Orpheus breaks through the condition laid on him; he looks back. Three devils seize Eurydike and drag her down into the underworld.

(G 2.) Æneas desires to visit the underworld to see his father. Charon objects to carry a living body across the river. The Sibyl shows the talisman of the golden bough, and they are ferried across the Stygian water (*Æneid* vi. 383–416).

(H 2.) Herakles having chained up Kerberos, descends into the underworld and liberates Theseus, who is seen armed with sword and shield.

This finishes the series under the fresco

of the devils seizing the damned. The last of the poets is Lucan; around his picture there are only two scenes.

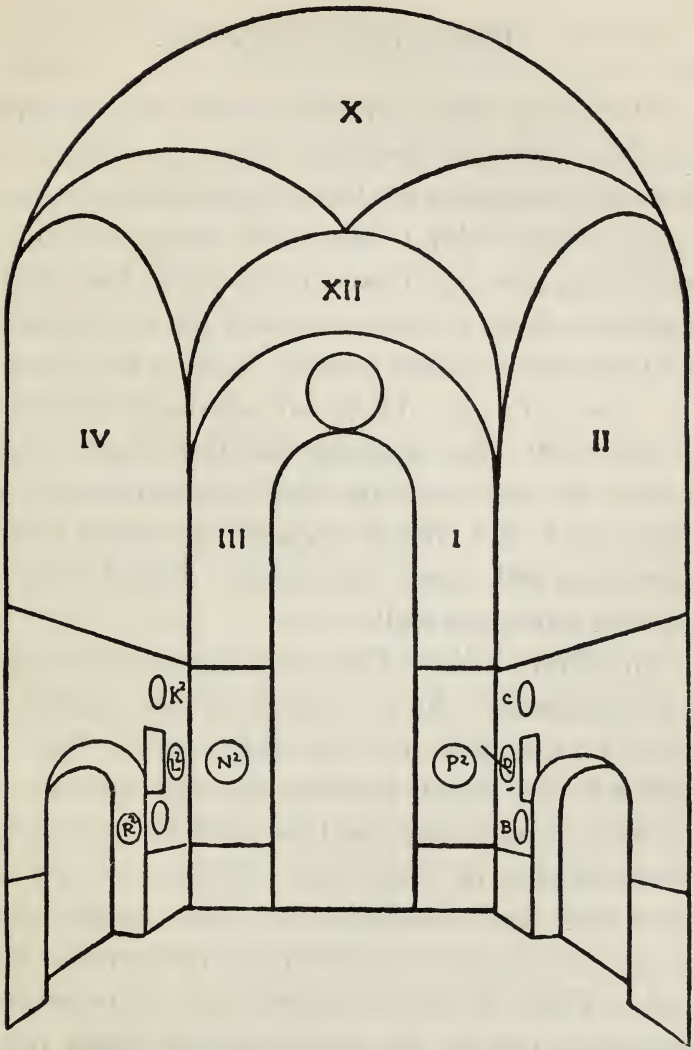
(K 2.) Probably a scene in the wars between Cæsar and Pompey, described in Lucan's *Pharsalia* iv. 235. The two armies have fraternized, and Petreius raises the passions of the soldiers of Pompey so that strife may be renewed.

(L 2.) After the battle of Pharsalia Pompey sails to Egypt, where he is slain by Achilles (*Pharsalia* viii. 718).

In the recess in the wall there are two small panels.

(M 2. Plan XX.) Probably represents the martyrdom of Faustinus — perhaps the saint of this name who suffered in the time of Diocletian.

(R 2. Plan XXI.) Probably represents the death of Pietro Parenzo, said to have been the first Podestà of Orvieto. He was sent to make peace in the city in 1199. He caused the towers of the nobles to be destroyed, and was treacherously murdered. His death was avenged by the Guelph party.



Plan XXI. — Cappella della Madonna, di S. Brizio, Duomo, Orvieto

The Signs of Judgment

We have now to deal with the second division of the process, viz., the signs of coming judgment and the reign of Antichrist.

(i., Plan XXI.) The first sign of judgment is the confusion on earth, the signs and wonders in heaven, and the perplexity of the nations described in Luke xxi. 25 and in Rev. vi. 12. It is an account of what follows on the opening of the sixth seal, when the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood, and the stars fell upon the earth. This fresco is on the entrance wall.

(ii., Plan XX.) The next sign is the reign of Antichrist. As we stand in the entrance, it is to our left, on the side wall. This is one of the finest frescoes in the series; it gives a remarkable picture of the trials and temptations of this life. It is a study of the evil and confusion in the world, the hopeless discord and futility of human life when there is no perception of its true significance nor of the end towards which men should strive. The coming of Antichrist

was a constant preoccupation of the mediæval mind. Around this mysterious conception centred all the evil tendencies of the world. His coming was to cause the falling away of many from the true faith, his dominion was to be short-lived, only extending to three and a half years, as in the Apocalypse; but it was to be bloody and disastrous beyond measure, and it was to precede the day of judgment.

It is this concentration of all the powers of evil which Signorelli strives to paint. The drama begins with the fall of the evil spirit driven out from heaven by the sword of the angel. Antichrist descends, as does the dove of the Holy Spirit, in rays from above. The coming of Antichrist, like his kingdom on earth, like the deeds by which he beguiles men and the means by which he imposes his rule over their souls, are in form the duplicates in evil of all the good that goes to the establishment of the kingdom of heaven. The descent of Antichrist brings evil and death, just as the descent of the Holy Spirit brings the gifts of healing. He falls amidst a crowd of men and women.

Some look upwards as if for guidance, others realize the tragedy of their lives, ending in nothing but futile effort, evil passion, despair, and death.

The coming of Antichrist is followed by the preaching of his kingdom. He stands on a pedestal, and, according to the promptings of the devil, he speaks to the crowd. There is no weak attempt to make him odious or diabolic; he is one of the most magnificent conceptions of Renaissance art. He is grave, reverend, and thoughtful, full of power and force; and yet with subtle art Signorelli makes it clear that the kingdom of darkness is overshadowing its king. At the foot of the pedestal lie rich vases full of coin, and other symbols of the voluptuous life by which Antichrist tempts the souls of men to destruction.

The false prophet is making no merely rhetorical appeal to the feelings; he knows the weaknesses of humanity, and he has a lure for all. He appeals to some by suasion and a false exposition of the Scriptures. We see the monks and learned men discuss his positions with the text before them;

they seem to be weighing the promises of the good things of this life against some faint recollection of a better and a higher ideal; their doubts give them an evil conscience, a troubled expression, and an irresolute air. Where persuasion fails Antichrist tempts by the working of miracles. In the background a sick person rises up in bed. The incident represents a cure of some disease or perhaps a revival from death; women render thanks, and a group of men look on in wonder and amazement.

Another group is tempted with gifts; a servant of Antichrist passes from one to another with an alert and acute air. A woman in the foreground unwillingly receives money from him; she turns away as she holds out her hand, and her face tells us that she knows it is the wages of sin.

Where all these temptations fail Antichrist falls back on violence and terror. When the appeal to the intellect, to the feelings, and to vicious longings has been resisted, he will break down resistance by persecution and bloodshed. In the foreground and to the left of the picture one of the emissaries of

evil strangles a man with a business-like precision characteristic of a Renaissance bravo; near by lies a monk with his head split open, and others have fallen by knife or dagger.

In the background is a magnificent palace, a fit abode for those who live in the pride of the eyes and the pride of life. About its porticoes move armed servants; some of them drag a prisoner to punishment, and in front of the entrance Antichrist stands watching over the martyrdom of Enoch and Elias, the two witnesses for God, in whose death the Kingdom of Evil was finally established.

The third sign of judgment is seen in the fresco on the entrance wall (iii., Plan XXI.). It describes the vehement fire that comes before the judgment; it is sent so that the old world may be purified, and that from it may come a new heaven and a new earth, unpolluted by discord. It also cleanses the sin of those who are alive at the second coming, and have not therefore climbed through the circles of Purgatory. It is as a pillar of fire to give light to the saints,

and to add to the torments of the damned.

The Resurrection

After the signs of judgment, there is the Resurrection (iv., Plan XX.) on the side wall. Two angels sound the trumpets of the resurrection, each trumpet having the banner of the cross. On the plain below many souls have already risen. They stand in groups, most of them gazing upwards in search of the power by which they have been awakened; others are still in the act of freeing themselves from the grave with much effort. Sometimes it is a skeleton that forces its way upwards, and to the right they stand in a group. The skeletons are probably placed here in accordance with the legend that one of the tokens of the coming judgment is that the bones of dead men shall issue out of their graves.

One group of souls stand in loving recollection of the tender affection they enjoyed on earth. They have a melancholy air, for they do not yet realize that now theirs is the life everlasting. There is not a single

example of theatrical pose, of weak or exaggerated feeling, or of forced action. It is a remarkable realization, that stamps itself indelibly on the mind.

The Judgment

Christ in judgment is depicted on the roof of the chapel (v., Plan XX.). He raises His right hand, and with His left He holds the globe of the universe. Outside the aureole of light which surrounds Him, are choirs of angels. This fresco is for the most part by Fra Angelico. In the other divisions of the vaulting of the roof are gathered the hierarchies of the old and new dispensations.

(vii. Plan XX.) The patriarchs were watchers for the coming of Christ. In the innocency of Abel, in the hope of Noah, in the obedience of Abraham, in the meekness of Moses, they taught the mysteries of the spiritual life. They were each as stars giving light to their own time, until Christ, the true morning star, brought the fulness of light to all men. The group of patriarchs is the work of Signorelli.

SIGNORELLI. — THE DOCTORS OF THE CHURCH

(viii. Plan XX.) The prophets, who foresaw and foretold the coming of Christ. St. John the Baptist sits nearest to the Saviour, and behind him is King David. This group is by Fra Angelico; the remaining divisions of the vault were painted by Signorelli.

(ix.) In the first harvest the prophets had laboured, and in the second their place was taken by the apostles. Madonna kneels nearest to Christ.

(x. Plan XX.) After the apostles there came martyrs, and when the martyrs were taken, there followed the doctors of the Church (xi.). It was through their preaching and teaching that the brightness of the light of the Gospel dispelled the dark shadows of ignorance. The Choir of Virgins (xii., Plans XX. and XXI.) has for its central figure St. Mary Magdalene. Many of them bear palms of martyrdom. They move the spirits of men so that they may fight the good fight and win the crown of life.

Thus we are taught how the goodly fellowship of the prophets, the glorious company of the apostles, the noble army of martyrs, and Holy Church throughout

the entire world acknowledge the infinite majesty of the glory of Christ.

The Fate of the Wicked

On the side wall to the right (xiii., Plan XX.) there is the scene in which the devils seize the damned and hurry them off to their allotted place. This is the least convincing of the four large frescoes, and yet no artist has ever more nearly conveyed in its terrible simplicity the vision which Dante calls up in *Inferno* iii. 16–18: "We are come to the place where I told thee thou shouldst see the wretched people who have lost the good of the intellect."

Signorelli has chosen the scene which occurs so often over the great doorways in thirteenth-century Gothic cathedrals. At Nôtre Dame, in Paris, the wicked are gathered in a chain and drawn hellwards in a mass. Here, at Orvieto, it is an individual struggle. Each devil seizes his victim, binds him, or clutches him in his arms and carries him off. Some fly away with their prey, and three armour-clad angels stand on guard, lest any of the lost souls should

SIGNORELLI. — THE FATE OF THE WICKED

escape toward the way of the blessed. The devils do their work too well for that, and the three are impassive onlookers, watching the struggle.

The devils gain in horror from their humanity. Some have wings, reminding us that they are fallen angels, others have horns, but there is no intention to dwell on such things, and there is no desire to gain effect by grotesque incident. It is essentially an intellectual hell, in which the terror is greater, inasmuch as man suffers in his highest faculties and by means of devils who are mainly differentiated from himself by calculated hate.

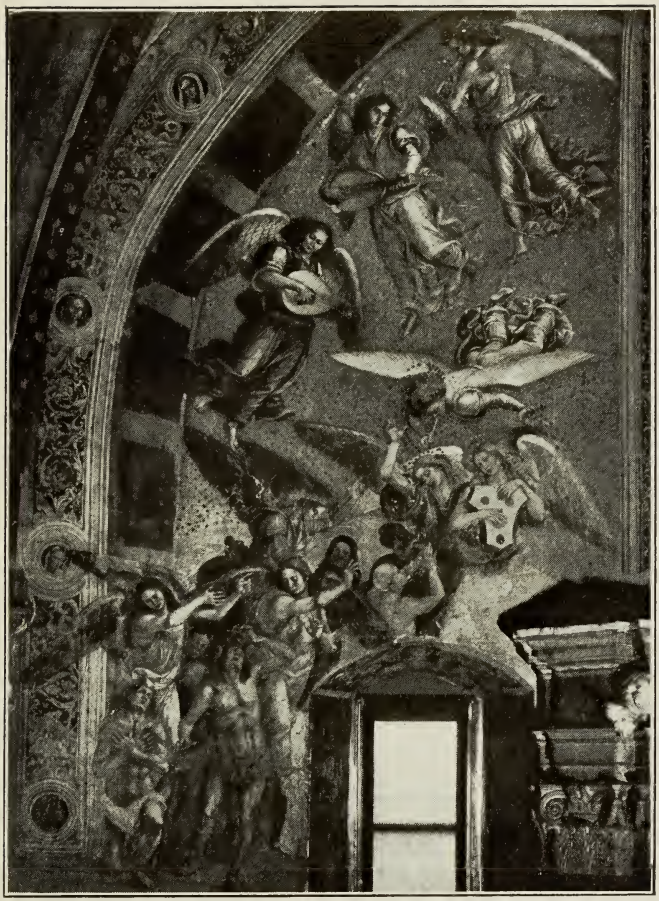
The fate of the wicked is continued on the right-hand side of the window (xiv., Plan XX.). The design follows generally the vision which Dante describes in the third canto of *Inferno*.

The group to the right of the picture await the coming of Charon's boat. His eyes are like glowing coal; he collects the sinners and smites with his oar whoever lingers. "As the leaves of autumn fall off one after the other . . . so one by one the

evil seed of Adam cast themselves from that shore . . . and ere they have landed on the other shore again a fresh crowd collects on this." In the background of the picture there is the "crew of caitiffs," dreary souls who lived without blame and without praise. "Their blind life is so mean that they are envious of every other lot." Their aimless existence on earth finds its counterpart on the confines of hell. They follow an ensign that ever moves quickly and yet leads nowhere.

The Lot of the Blessed

On the left hand (xv., Plan XX.) is the fresco describing the communion of saints in Paradise. The blessed are looking upwards, they have seen the wicked carried off to everlasting torment, and their faces still bear the signs of the stress of this world. The terror from which they have escaped weighs on their souls, they do not realize the bliss they are about to enjoy. And yet in the heaven above them all is peace. The nine choirs of angels join in unending harmonies. Two angels in the centre shed



SIGNORELLI. — THE LOT OF THE BLESSED

flowers upon the blessed, while others place crowns of victory upon their heads. In spite of all this joy there is not a smile on a single face, human or angelic.

It is a paradise of men and women who have passed through lives full of such experiences as make them grave even in the divine presence-chamber. Here there are no child-like monks embraced by child-like angels as in the Paradise of Fra Angelico. These are beings of a sterner mould, and they are still in the heaven from which the shadow of earth has not wholly passed. The waters of Lethe have not completely washed away the memory and the bitterness of worldly discords.

It is as though these artists of the Renaissance had cast away mediævalism without having found a new anchorage. The mournful gaze of Botticelli, the sceptical smile of Leonardo, the passionate unrest of Michel Angelo, and the shadow over Signorelli's Paradise show that none of these men had found a resolution of the problems they had to face. At first sight the crowd of naked forms and the intimate realization of their

anatomy seems to clash with a conception of the ideal; indeed, this picture has been regarded by some mainly as a study of the nude, and interesting as an example that may have inspired Michel Angelo.

It will fall more truly into its proper place, if we regard these grandly muscular forms, standing so firmly on their feet and facing us with such stern and grave purpose, as symbols of that fortitude, of that strength and fixity of will, and of that reverend regard for the relationships of life upon which character is based.

This company of the blessed assert the dignity of human nature alike in its physical and intellectual development. It is a protest against the mediæval conception which regarded the body as the prison-house of the soul, and this world merely as a place of preparation for the next.

If we compare a mediæval rendering of Paradise, such as that of Orcagna, with this Renaissance conception, we find in the former that each saint has his or her worldly rank in the spiritual hierarchy carefully recorded; here the individual does not

stand on the quality of distinctions made in this world. In the Paradise of Signorelli men and women appear as such, and not as bishops or abbesses or martyrs or virgins. We do not know who has borne the burden and heat of the day, or who has worked but one hour. Here they are all equal, the quality of humanity is enough.

The glory of Paradise is consummated on the wall to the left of the window (xvi., Plan XX.). Angels are making music, while others fly downwards to help and encourage the blessed souls on their way to the presence of God.

CHAPTER VI

THE CAPPELLA DEL CORPORALE

The Cappella del Corporale contains the reliquary, in which is preserved the visible signs of the miracle of Bolsena. The miracle was worked in the Church of Sta. Cristina at Bolsena. In 1263, a German priest, who was troubled with doubt about the Real Presence, made a pilgrimage to Rome, hoping to find peace of mind. He visited various sanctuaries by the way, and it thus happened that he came to celebrate mass at this place. As he broke the bread the wafer was turned into flesh, and blood dropped upon the cloth used in the office. Upon it there also appeared the image of the Saviour. At that time Pope Urban IV. was at Orvieto, and thither the priest went to tell what had befallen. The Bishop of Orvieto was sent to verify the facts, and

afterwards was ordered by the Pope to return to Bolsena and bring the relics to Orvieto. The Pope went out in procession to the bridge of Rio Chiaro to meet the returning bishop; children spread olive branches and flowers by the way, and all returned to the city with joy and gladness.

The miracle happened at an opportune time. In the year 1208 the blessed Giuliana, a nun at Liege, had a vision of an incomplete circle of light; it was revealed to her that the bright part represented the festivals held in honour of other mysteries, while the dark part signified that there was lacking a festival in honour of the Holy Sacrament. The institution of such a festival was attempted for a time at Liege, but the Pope hesitated to make it general throughout the Church, for he feared to make a liturgical innovation without some proof from heaven. The divine sanction was found in the miracle of Bolsena, and by a Bull of the 11th August 1264, the Pope ordered the celebration of a festival throughout the Catholic world. Thomas Aquinas was ordered to compose an office and a mass for the celebration

which was ordained for the glory of the Holy Sacrament, and the confounding of heretics.

In the middle of the thirteenth century the Manichean heresy was rife, and besides maintaining the principle of dualism, many of the heretical sects were inclined to deny the Real Presence. The miracle of Bolsena came, therefore, as a most welcome means of strengthening the position of the Church against her enemies.

We now turn to the frescoes of the Chapel of the Corporale. They were painted originally between the years 1357 and 1364 by Ugolino di Prete Ilario and his assistants.

The frescoes on the side walls nearest to the reliquary have been repainted, while those on the walls nearest to the nave are almost destroyed. The entire series in the chapel, both on the walls and the roof, have a Eucharistic significance.

PLAN XXII (p. 349)

Beginning with the paintings on the roof over the reliquary:— (a.) Melchisedek offers bread and wine to Abraham. The legend

runs, " Melchisedek, King of Salem, offered to Abraham bread and wine, for he was a priest of the Most High God." In the lunette beneath, St. Jerome explains that Melchisedek is to be interpreted as King of Justice and King of Peace; he signifies Christ, King of all priests.

In (b.) Abraham welcomes the three angels. He sees three, but adores only one. He brings water and washes their feet, and sets food before them. St. Basil, in the lunette below, says: " He adored the Saviour, showing His coming, and he foresaw the future mystery of the Sacrament."

In (c.) Moses and the Israelites gather manna. The legend is, " He gave them bread from heaven having all virtue in it."

(d.) Elijah is aroused by the angel; he kneels and adores, and then eats. He climbs Mount Horeb. In the strength of this food he went forty days and forty nights up to the Mount of God. *In the lunette*, St. Gregory says, " The angel which fed Elijah, that is, the angel of ' great council,' is Christ, by whose help we exist both in our bodily and spiritual nature."

The four divisions of the roof nearest to the nave of the church have the following representations: —

(e.) In the upper part Christ stands with the seven candlesticks about Him; over them is the Host. Below, Christ appears as the rider on the white horse, crowned and armed. He shoots an arrow at the devil. The legend says, " A crown is given to Thee, and as a conqueror, Thou shalt go forth to conquer."

In the lunette below, Christ stands among His disciplès holding the Host, and declares that he who eats shall have life eternal.

(f.) A figure kneels in confession, and St. Paul, pointing to the chalice and the wafer on the altar, warns mankind that whosoever eats and drinks unworthily eats and drinks to his own damnation.

(g.) Christ in a glory of angels and holding the chalice and wafer appears to St. Augustine, who hears a voice from heaven. It is shown to him that as the bodily man grows by eating food, so the spiritual man must feed on Christ. In the lunette below, there is a representation of the Last Supper.

Christ gives the wafer to Peter and says, "Take, eat, this is my body."

(h.) St. Thomas Aquinas kneels at an altar, to prepare himself for writing the new office for the festival of the "Corpus Domini." On the altar there is a book, on the pages of which is written, "I am the true food." *Above the altar* is a crucifix, and from it Christ speaks to St. Thomas: "Thou hast well written of Me, Thomas, therefore thou shalt receive the reward of thy labours."

The picture in the lunette below is defaced. The scheme of this roof seems to be summed up in the saying, "By partaking of the body and blood of Christ we pass into that which we then take, and both in spirit and in body we carry everywhere Him, in whom and with whom we were dead and buried."

We now turn to the narrative frescoes *on the wall*, beginning with those which give an account of the miracle, on the right-hand side of the chapel.

No. 1. The miracle of blood falling from the Host, in the Church of Sta. Cristina, at Bolsena.

No. 2. The priest comes to tell the Pope of the miracle.

No. 3. The Pope sends the Bishop of Orvieto to verify the miracle.

No. 4. The Bishop of Orvieto finds the corporale spotted with blood.

No. 5. The Pope at the head of the people and clergy meet the bishop on his return. The Pope kneels as the corporale is exposed.

No. 6. The corporale is shown to the people.

No. 7. St. Thomas Aquinas presents the office for the celebration of Corpus Domini, which the Pope has ordered him to write.

Passing to the frescoes on the left wall —

Nos. 8, 9, and 10 represent a fisherman putting the Host into the mouth of a fish. Three years later he confesses what he has done. The priest and the fisherman recover the Host.

No. 11. A hermit who disbelieves in the Real Presence is brought to the altar. As the priest raises the Host, it is changed into the likeness of a child.

No. 12. St. Gregory, having consecrated the Host, presents it to an unbelieving

Plan XXII. — Cappella del Corporale, Duomo, Orvieto

woman, who by it receives faith in the Sacrament.

Nos. 13, 14, 15. A Jewish child has received the communion along with a number of Christian children. The indignant father thrusts the child into a glass-blower's furnace. The mother calls her neighbours. They rescue the child, and put the father into the furnace in his place.

Nos. 16, 17, 18. Hugh of St. Victor, when sick, is presented with the unconsecrated Host. He detects and refuses it. The consecrated Host is brought, and he sits up in bed and worships. In the next painting Hugh says, "Let the Son return to the Father, and my soul to its Saviour." In the fresco we see the wafer passing upwards, and the soul of the dead man, shining with a brilliant radiance, carried to heaven by angels.

No. 19. A number of Christian prisoners have been taken by Mussulmans in battle. Among them is a chaplain. The Saracen king demands to see what the chaplain can make out of bread, otherwise the prisoners will be slain.

No. 20. The chaplain celebrates mass, and the Host is changed into a child.

The Christians kneel on one side of the altar, and the Saracens on the other.

No. 21. The Child stands on the altar bearing the cross. The king is seated on his throne. Some of the soldiers kneel, and many conversions take place.

No. 22. *In a window* opening to the right of the entrance, it is possible to see traces of the offerings made by Cain and Abel, and the sacrifice of Gideon.

No. 23. To the left of the entrance, *below the first lunette*, there is a representation of the meal of the Passover.

No. 24. On the *underside of the arch*, to the left of the entrance, three frescoes show how a heretic attempted to deceive a believer with a representation of a false Madonna and Child. The believer takes advice of St. Peter Martyr. The saint elevates the Host, and the Child falls from the knee of the false representation.

The reliquary, in which is preserved the corporale, was made by Ugolino di Maestro Vieri in 1337. It is adorned with eight

representations of the story of the miracle and seven scenes from the life of Christ.

1. The Priest says Mass. 2. The Priest tells the Pope of the Miracle. 3. The Pope sends the Bishop to inquire. 4. The Bishop verifies the Priest's Account. 5. The Bishop returns with the Corporale. 6. The Pope comes out of Orvieto to meet him. 7. The Pope shows the Corporale to the People. 8. St. Thomas Aquinas presents a copy of the Office he has written for the Festival. 9. The Entry into Jerusalem. 10. The Last Supper. 11. The Washing of the Feet. 12. The Sermon to the Apostles after the Supper.

Below these are representations of the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Adoration of the Magi. At the four corners are figures of the four Evangelists.

The Font

Near the western door, which is most commonly used, there is a font of Renaissance workmanship. It is supported on a base carried by eight lions. The work was begun in 1390 by Luca di Giovanni of Siena and it was finished in 1407, while Sano di Matteo

of Siena was Capo Maestro. The font is of the traditional octagonal form.

The most noteworthy thing is the sculpture on a small fillet which surrounds the basin. In addition to some ornamental work there are allegorical subjects not easy to explain. One subject shows a wolf suckling children, while another wolf carries off a lamb. It has been suggested that the one wolf is the true Pope who nourishes the Church, while the other is the Antipope who ravages the fold. There are besides symbols of the seven virtues. Faith is indicated by the Host and chalice, next is Hope, and beyond there is a figure with a flaming censer expressive of charity. Prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude are also personified. They appear here as the result of the purification and illumination wrought by the waters of baptism.

Near the font on the wall of the aisle is a fresco by Gentile de Fabriano (1360, 70–1427, 28?). The picture has been much damaged; it is still, however, a charming example of Umbrian sentiment.

CHAPTER VII

OTHER CHURCHES

S. DOMENICO was begun on a small scale in 1233, but in 1245 the plan was changed by the Cardinal Anibaldo Anibaldeschi in favour of a more magnificent church with a large convent attached. The designs of the cardinal were too ambitious. The vast structure remained in an incomplete state until the seventeenth century, when it was finished off on a smaller scale.

St. Thomas Aquinas, who lived in Orvieto for a year, from 1263 to 1264, persuaded Urban IV. to consecrate this church. It is said that the learned doctor not only taught theology in the town, but wrote, during the time of his visit, the office of the Corpus Domini, the first book of the *Catena Aurea*, and his commentary upon the *De Anima* of Aristotle. An ancient wooden crucifix, and

a chair in this church, are shown as having been used by St. Thomas. The chief object of interest is the monument erected by Arnolfo del Cambio (1232–1310) to Cardinal Guglielmo di Bray, who died in Orvieto in 1280. The tomb may be compared with the similar design by Giovanni Pisano for the monument to Benedict XI. in the Church of S. Domenico in Perugia.

The design of the cardinal's tomb is architecturally superior to the monument at Perugia. The lower part, ornamented with mosaic, is particularly successful. The recumbent figure, with severely simple drapery, is very fine in general outline. But the face of the cardinal cannot compare with the magnificently dignified features of the dead Pope by Giovanni Pisano.

The theme of the curtain-drawing angels was probably invented by Arnolfo, and used by him on this monument for the first time. These angels have no wings, and are clothed in dalmatics. They seem busily concerned with their duties, and are altogether less restrained and less beautiful than the angels of Giovanni at Perugia. Above the lying

statue is a seated Madonna and Child on a throne richly ornamented with mosaics and twisted columns. On either side, under niches, are the figures of St. Dominic, and the kneeling cardinal, presented to the Virgin by a Dominican monk.

The majestic figure of the Madonna recalls something of the imperial air of the Virgin by Niccolo Pisano on the pulpit at Pisa.

A sepulchral chapel in the church was built by Michele Sammicheli for one of the Petrucci family of Siena, who died in Orvieto in 1517.

S. Andrea, in the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele, is an ancient church built before the middle of the twelfth century, upon the site of a Roman temple dedicated to Juno. The church has no architectural features of interest, and is noteworthy chiefly from its associations with some of the most solemn events and deeds of the mediæval republic. On the Feast of the Assumption it was the custom for the conquered towns and castles annually to offer their tribute as a sign of submission to the Orvietans at the doorway of S. Andrea. Pietro Parenzo, the

first Podestà, who was murdered in Orvieto, was canonized here.

In 1281 Martin IV. received the papal tiara in this church, in the presence of Charles of Anjou. On a pier of the crossing, to the right, is a small pulpit richly inlaid with cosmati work.

The Church of S. Francesco, built upon the highest part of the city, dates from 1229. It was in this building that Boniface VIII. canonized St. Louis, King of France, in 1297. The church was also the scene of the magnificent funeral of Prince Henry of England, murdered by Guy de Montfort in Viterbo in 1273. There were present on the occasion the English king, Edward I., and his queen, as well as Charles of Anjou and Pope Gregory X.

Several members of the famous Monaldeschi family are buried in this church.

S. Giovenale is probably the oldest Orvietan church, having been constructed in 1004 at the expense of the families of the Monaldeschi, Rinaldini, and the Counts of Marsciano.

The building underwent radical modifica-

tions in the thirteenth century, and again in 1640, but some traces still remain of the Romanesque period. The high altar, for example, is formed of a marble slab covered with interlacing patterns of crosses and circles. On the pilasters at the corners are the figures of a dove, a griffin, a bishop, and the Archangel Michael. The date 1170 may be seen on the side. The church also possesses an interesting ivory casket of Romanesque workmanship, with the symbolical figures of a lamb between a peacock and a pelican, signifying the Redeemer, who, by His sacrifice, bestowed the gift of everlasting beatitude upon man. Christ is symbolized by the lamb, His sacrifice by the pelican, and immortality by the peacock.

The Monastery of SS. Severo and Martirio, known as La Badia, is about one and a half miles beyond the Porta Romana. It can be reached by carriage from the road, or on foot by pleasant paths through vine and olive gardens. The building was begun in the eighth century, and was enlarged and enriched at different times up to the fourteenth century. The ten-sided campanile

in the Romanesque style was added by the Countess Matilda, who died in 1117. Some marble fragments, remains of the older construction, may be seen built into the walls of the tower. The windows are round-arched and divided by a single column.

The cloister has round-headed windows with Romanesque ornament, but the capitals of the columns are Gothic in character. The monastery was inhabited by Benedictine monks until 1221. It was then given by Honorius III. to the regular canons of the Premonstratensians. In 1423 Martin V. bestowed it upon the Olivetans, who in turn were dispossessed by Eugenius IV. in 1442, and the rich monastery passed into the hands of Cardinal Barbo, the nephew of the Pope.

The Well of St. Patrick (Pozzo di S. Patrizio), near to the fortress, is an ingenious and unusual construction built by the architect, San Gallo, in 1527. Clement VII. had fled to Orvieto for refuge after the sack of Rome by the Constable Bourbon; and fearing that the water supply of the town would prove deficient in the case of a siege,

he ordered the construction of this magnificent well. The shaft is about one hundred and eighty feet deep, and forty-six feet in diameter. There are two staircases, one for the ascent, and the other for the descent, wide enough for the passage of mules. The walls are pierced by seventy-two windows, and through these openings, one can see far down at the bottom a speck of water circled round by a green wall of delicate ferns. It is said that San Gallo took the idea of this stairway from Niccolo Pisano's designs for the campanile at Pisa. Clement VII. died before the completion of the structure, and his successor Paul III. gave the work to Simon Mosca, who transformed the balls of the Medici arms, which Clement had placed above the door, into the lilies of the Farnese house.

The inscription on the upper building runs, *QUOD NATURA MUNIMENTO INVIDERAT INDUSTRIA ADJECIT.* "Industry supplies what nature is unwilling to bestow."

END OF VOLUME I.

Index

Adrian IV., 207, 208.
Agnes, 19.
Albornoz, Egidio (Cardinal), 52, 183, 210.
Alessi, architect, 11.
Ammanato, Tura dell, 251.
Anabaldeschi, Anibaldo, 354.
Angelico, Fra, 311, 312.
Antelami, sculptor, 63.
Antonio da Foligno (*see* Mezzastris).
Antonio da Viterbo, 301.
Aquinas, St. Thomas, 354.
Arnolfo del Cambio, 256, 355.
Artistic influences in Assisi, 57.
Assisium, 3.

Barbo, Cardinal, 359.
Benedicta, Abbess, 193.
Bernard of Quintavalle, 23.
Bernadone, Pietro, 21.
Bevignate, Fra, 258.
Bolsena, Miracle of, 208, 260, 342-344.
Boniface VIII., 207, 357.
Boniface IX., 211.
Bucchero ware, 215, 234, 236-238, 249.
"Buon Viaggio," villa, 220.
Bracchio, condottiere, 211.
Bray, Guglielmo di, Cardinal, 355.

Camerino, Boccati da, 194.
Campello, Filippo da, 50.
Campo Santo, the, 219.
"Canticle of the Sun," 40.
Carceri, Hermitage of the, 8, 9, 28, 45.
Catana, Pietro di, 27, 36.
Catherine of Cyprus, 54.
Cavallini, Pietro, 65.
Cellini, Benvenuto, 252.
Charles of Anjou, 357.
Chiagio, river, 20.
Churches and Chapels.
In Assisi:
Capella dei Pellegrini, 194.
Capella de S. Francesco, 21.
Capella Primitiva, 46.
Chiesa Nuova, 21.
Duomo (S. Rufino), 8, 10-20.

Porziuncolo, 8, 22, 23, 27, 28, 31, 35.
Rivo Torto, 36.
St. Agnes, 190.
St. Anthony the Abbot, 52, 54, 178-181.
St. Anthony of Padua, 56, 178-181.
St. Bernardino, 46, 47.
S. Carlo Borromeo, 31.
St. Catherine (del Crocefisso), 52, 54, 183-186.
Sta. Chiara, 49, 187-194.
S. Damiano, 23, 27, 28, 36, 37-44, 49, 187, 193.
S. Francesco, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 45, 49-160.
S. Giorgio, 49, 50, 187.
St. John the Baptist, 51.
St. Louis the King (St. Stephen), 51, 54, 181-183.
St. Maria degli Angeli, 5, 7, 8, 9, 22, 28, 30, 36.
St. Martin, 51, 54, 68, 163-168.
St. Mary Magdalene, 52, 174-178.
St. Nicolas, 51, 56, 169-174.
In Florence;
Duomo, 256, 264.
Sta. Maria del Fiori, 258.
In Lucca;
Duomo, 64.
In Orvieto;
Capella del Corporale, 342.
Capella della Madonna di S. Brizio, 311-314.
Capella di Magi, 310.
Capella Nuova or di S. Brizio, 260.
Duomo, 207-208, 256-310.
S. Andrea, 356.
S. Domenico, 354.
S. Francesco, 357.
S. Giovenale, 255, 357.
In Pavia:
S. Michele, 63.
In Rome:
St. John Lateran, 64.
In Spoleto:
S. Pietro, 17.
Santa Maria in Trastavere, 65.
Cimabue, 134, 190.
Clement VII., 310, 360.
Colle del Inferno, the, 49.
Cosma Romana, Jacomo di, 258.
Cosmati family, 64.
Conrad of Swabia, 19.
Convent of Santa Trinita, 219.
"Crocefisso del Tufo," 218.

Dante, 71.
Della Robbia, Luca, 34, 35.
De Montfort, Guy, 357.
Diocletian, 13.
Donatello, 252.
Doni, Dono, 181.
Duomo of Assisi, 8, 10-12.

Florence, 256, 264.
Lucca, 64.
Orvieto, 207-208, 256-310.

Edward I., 357.
Elias, Frate, 27, 50, 51.
Etruscans, the, in Umbria, ix-xi.
Museums, 230-251.
Necropolis, 213-217.
Paintings, 221-229.
Tombs, 204, 218, 220.
Eugenius IV., 359.
Exuperantius, 13, 19.

Fabriano, Gentile de, 353.
Faina Collection, 239-250.
Federighi, Antonio, 260.
Filippischi family, 206.
Fioretti, the, 23, 29.
Font, Orvieto, 352.
Francesca, Piero della, 312.
Franceschi, Niccolo, 254.
Frederick II., 19, 41, 50.
Frescoes.
In Assisi:
Apostles, 86-90.
Byzantine, 60.
"Chastity," 148-151.
Christ, life of, 123-133.
Doctors, 96.
End of the World, 90-94.
Evangelists, 95.
Florentine, 62.
"Glorification," 155-158.
In Capella dei Pellegrini, 195.
Madonna by Cimabue, 134-135.
Madonna by Lorenzetti, 142.
"Obedience," 152-154.
Old and New Testaments, 77-83.
"Passion," 68, 69, 159.
"Poverty," 145-147.
"Presentation," 72.
Sienese, 61.
Significance of, 73-74.
St. Anthony the Abbot, 197-198.
St. Anthony of Padua, 178-181.
St. Catherine, 183-186.
Sta. Chiara, 190-193.
St. Francis, 32-33, 34, 103-122, 136-141, 145-158, 159.
St. Lawrence, 183.
St. Martin, 68, 163-167.
St. Mary Magdalene, 174-178.
St. Nicolas, 169-172.
St. Stephen, 181-183.
Umbrian, 61.
Virgin Mary, 83-86.
In Orvieto:
Apostles, 303.
Chapel del Corporale, 344-352.
Christ in Judgment, 334-336.
Crucifixion, 251.
Destruction by fire, 332.
Doctors, 303.
Evangelists, 302.
Life of the Virgin, 304-309.

Madonna by Pinturicchio, 219.
Medallions and panels, 313, 314, 316-326.
Prophets, 303.
Reign of Antichrist, 328-332.
Resurrection, 333-334.
S. Bernardino by Pinturicchio, 219.
Signs of Judgment, 313, 328-333.
The Blessed, 338-341.
The Wicked, 336-338.
"Trasimundo Madonna," 251.
Friedrich of Freiburg, 253.

Ghibelline party, 205-206.
Giocomo di Bologna, 301.
Giotto, 5, 59, 65, 67, 69-73, 138, 192, 252.
Giovanni Luca di, 352.
Giovanni da Bologna, 254.
Giovanni da Gubbio, 11.
Giuliana nun., 343.
Golini, Signor, 220.
Gozzoli, Benozzo, 19, 195.
Gregory IX., 26, 44, 49.
Gregory X., 357.
Gregory XII., 211.
Gualdo, Matteo da, 194, 195.
Guelph party, 205-206.
Guglielmo, Fra, 258.

Hecuba of Cyprus, 54.
Henry VII., 209.
Henry of England, Prince, 357.
History of Assisi, 3-8.
History of Orvieto, 203-212.
Honorius III., 359.
Hospital (Orvieto), 207.

Innocent III., 26, 36.
Innocent IV., 43, 51.

Jacobus or Giocomo, 49.

La Badia, Monastery of, 251, 358.
Ladislaus of Naples, 211.
La Rocca, Fortress of, 211.
Leo, Brother, 30.
Leone, Frate, 43.
L'Ingegno, artist, 181.
Lo Scalza, 254.
Lorenzetti, Pietro, 67, 128, 142.
Lo Spagna, 34.

Maitani, Lorenzo, 258, 259.
Maitani, Niccolo, 259.
Maitani, Vitale, 259.
Marcellus, 13, 19.
Margaritone of Arezzo, 193.
Martini, Simone, 66, 136.
Martin IV., 357.
Martin V., 359.
Matilda, Countess, 359.
Matteo, Sano di, 352.
Meo of Orvieto, 259.
Mezzastris, 194, 195, 196.
Minerva, Temple of, 4, 7.
Mirror of Perfection, the, 29, 30.

Monaldeschi family, 206, 209, 210, 357.
Monaldeschi, Berardo, 210.
Monastery of La Badia (SS. Severo and Martirio), 251, 358.
Monte della Vernia, 30.
Montefiore, Gentile Partino da (Cardinal), 51, 167.
Montelupo, Raffaello da, 260, 310.
Monte Subasio, 3, 5, 39, 45.
Monte Subasio, Abbot of, 23, 28.
Mosca, Simone, 310, 360.
Mosca, Francesco, 310.
Moschino, sculptor, 260.
Museo Civico (Orvieto), 230.

Nelli, Ottaviano, 54.
Niccolo da Foligno, 19.
Nicolas IV., 208.

Orcagna, Andrea, 260, 265.
Orsini, Napoleone, 51, 169.
Orsini, Giovanni, 51, 169.
Overbeck, artist, 35.

Paganello, Ramo di, 258.
Paglia, valley of, 213.
Palaces.
In Orvieto:
Bishop's Palace, 207.
Opera del Duomo, 207, 230-234.
Palazzo Comunale (Municipio), 208.
Palazzo del Capitano (or del Popolo), 208.
Palazzo Faino, 230, 240.
Palazzo Soliano, 207, 234, 250.
Palermo, Innocenzo da, 43.
Parenzo, Pietro, 356.
Paul III., 360.
Perugino, 31.
Piazzas and Streets.
In Assisi:
Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele, 21.
In Orvieto:
Piazza del Duomo, 206.
Piazza del Popolo (or Mercato), 208.
Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele, 208, 356.
Via Cassia, 232.
Via di Pusterla, 209.
Piers of Duomo, Orvieto, 264-301.
Pinturicchio, 219, 301.
Pisano, Andrea, 259, 264, 265.
Pisano, Giovanni, 64, 253, 256, 258, 264, 355.
Pisano, Giunta, 31, 34, 50.
Pisano, Niccolo, 64, 253, 264, 356, 360.
Pisano, Nino, 253, 259.
Poggio Roccolo, 218.
Pollaiuolo, Antonio, 312.
Ponte Marchese, 220.
Porta Cassia (Orvieto), 213.
Porta Maggiore (Orvieto), 213, 216, 218.
Porta Romana (Orvieto), 218, 358.

Reni, Guido, 31.
Riccardo, Bishop, 205.

Sammicheli, 310, 356.
San Donino, Borgo, 63.
San Gallo, 310, 359, 360.
Sansoni, 52.
Sasso Tagliato, 220.
Scalza, Ippolito, 260, 310.
Schools of Painting.
  Byzantine, 60.
  Sienese, 61, 66-69, 168.
  Florentine, 62, 69-168.
  Tuscan, 61.
  Native, 61.
Settignano, Desiderio da, 252.
Sermei, artist, 178.
Sforza, Captain, 211.
Signorelli, Luca, 254, 255, 312, 313, 329, 336.
Simoncelli, Cardinal, 253.
Sixtus IV., 52.
St. Augustine, 26.
St. Augustine, quoted, 76.
St. Benedict, 23, 26, 29.
St. Bernard, 26.
S. Bernardino, 32, 33, 42, 46, 48.
S. Bonaventura, 32, 33.
S. Brizio, Bishop of Spoleto, 311.
St. Catherine, 162.
S. Cessidus, 13.
Sta. Chiara.
  Church of, 49, 187-194.
  Dedication, 27-28.
  Frescoes, 191-193.
  Life, 37, 39, 41, 42, 44, 45, 187-189.
  Portrait, 190.
  Relics, 43.
S. Costanzo, Bishop of Perugia, 311.
St. Cyril, 22.
St. Dominic, 29.
St. Francis of Assisi.
  Birth, 5, 23.
  Character, 8, 9, 24-31.
  Death and burial, 49-50.
  Ideals, 143-145.
  Life compared to Christ, 100-102.
  Miracle of Roses, 31.
  Relics, 46.
  Scenes from life, 32-33, 34, 103-122.
  Surroundings, 36-40.
  Tomb, 4, 186.
S. Gimignano, 168.
St. Lawrence, 161-162.
St. Martin, 162.
St. Mary Magdalene, 162.
St. Nicolas, 162.
S. Pietro Damiano, 19.
S. Rufino, 10, 11, 13, 19.
S. Severino, Giovanni da, 20.
Studio Generale in Orvieto, 211.

Talini, Giovanni, 251.
Tescio, river, 3.
Tiber, river, 211.
Tiberio d'Assisi, 32, 33, 42.
Todi, Tebaldo Pontano di (Bishop), 52.
"Tomba delle Due Bighe," 222.
Trasimundo, Bishop, 251.

Ugolino, Cardinal, 26, 27, 29, 30.
Ugolino da Maestro Vieri, 254.
Ugolino di Prete Ilario, 301, 344.
Ugone, Bishop, 10.
Urban IV., 342, 354.

Vassalectus, architect, 64.
"Venus of Cannicella," 231.
Vignola, architect, 30.
Vivo da Siena, 254.

Well of St. Patrick, Orvieto 359.

GETTY RESEARCH INSTITUTE
3 3125 01410 6518